

# LINCRUSTA 1877 - 1887: THE DEVELOPMENT, DESIGNS AND CHARACTER OF LINCRUSTA-WALTON

**HELENA BRAZIL**

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND RELIEF WALLCOVERINGS

<b>Anaglypta</b>	Patented in 1887 by Thomas J. Palmer. Former London manager of <i>Lincrusta-Walton</i> . Made utilising paper pulp which was embossed before drying. <i>Anaglypta</i> is derived from the Greek 'Ana' meaning 'raised' and 'Glypta' meaning 'cameo'. Manufacture was initially undertaken by Storey Brothers from the Queens Mill Factory at Lancaster in 1888. The business passed through ownership by C & J.G. Potter & Company before being acquired by the WPM in 1899.
<b>Caoutchouc</b>	(Pronounced 'Koo-chook') Natural rubber that has not been vulcanised.
<b>Cameoid</b>	<i>Cameoid</i> adapted from the word 'cameo', was a hollow-backed, lightweight pressed white paper in bas relief. Invented in 1888 by the <i>Lincrusta-Walton</i> Manager at Sudbury, D. M. Sutherland, the product was not taken up and marketed by the directors at <i>Lincrusta-Walton</i> until 1898.
<b>Calcorian</b>	A material invented in 1892 and sold by the Calcorian Wall & Ceiling Decoration Manufacturers. It was manufactured from a composition of cork dust and rubber, which was spread onto paper and then passed through a calendaring machine (hard pressure rollers).
<b>Frieze</b>	A horizontal paper strip mounted on a wall to give an effect similar to that of a sculpted or painted frieze.
<b>Gutta Percha</b>	A coagulated latex thermoplastic derived from the sap of the <i>Palaquium Sapotaceae</i> trees found in Asia.
<b>Lignomur</b>	An American wood fibre pulp wall and ceiling decoration impressed and coloured with wood blocks. Invented in

1880 and introduced in England in 1886. The recipe changed to production utilising rag pulp. The company was purchased in 1896 by Allan, Cockshut & Co., before transferring ownership to the WPM in 1899. (Sugden & Edmondson, 1925, 194 – 197, 252).

**Salamander**

A wall and ceiling decoration in both high and low relief invented in approx. 1895 and marketed by The United Asbestos Co. Ltd under the management of A.J. Duff. The high relief material was made from wet asbestos pulp on flat pattern plates. The low relief material was made from asbestos paper and embossed using hydraulic pressure.

**Tynecastle  
Tapestry**

A hand moulded compound of canvas and paste utilised in such a way as to create texture, most notably that of leather which could be tinted and gilded as well as given the appearance of age. Developed in a series of patents by Morton & Co. between 1882 – 1896.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes towards the understanding of nineteenth-century decorative wall-coverings by establishing a foundational understanding of the first ten years of *Lincrusta-Walton*, invented in 1877 by Frederick Walton (1834 – 1928), the inventor of *Linoleum*.

As a business history, this study builds upon the very limited literary, archival and material reference held by LINCRUSTA® by establishing and highlighting contemporary use. Additionally, an understanding of the foundation of the company will be established by scrutinising previously unexplored primary sources from contemporary trade literature and other published materials sourced through LINCRUSTA®, Crown Paints and other relevant archives and on-line resources.

Moreover, this thesis recognises and identifies the earliest dated catalogue within the public domain and establishes the first *Lincrusta-Walton* designs; whilst also reconciling and illuminating previously unattributed designs by Dr Christopher Dresser and contributions made to the design catalogue by Lewis Foreman Day. Additionally, discussion of the commercial, cultural and consumer history of the company will provide rigor and a contextual rationale from which *Lincrusta-Walton* and its significance within the home and market setting of the 1870's and 1880's, can be more fully appreciated and understood.

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For my father

<><

‘...though the composition and methods of production of these materials are not, strictly speaking, those of wallpaper... In some respects, they carry to perfection, in a way not possible until the necessary technical advances had been made, the efforts of the old paper-stainers at imitating various forms of decoration too costly for general use. Their production, moreover, has grown up within the wallpaper industry proper, and on that score also a History of English Wallpaper would be incomplete without some account of their character and scope.

December 1925’.

*A History of English Wallpaper, 1509 – 1914.*  
Sugden and Edmondson (1926, XI)

## CHAPTER 1

### 1.1 Background to the Project

I began this study with the aim of aiding the company LINCRUSTA® to understand their company history by establishing *Lincrusta's*\* lost narrative. However, once the research began, it soon became clear that although the company had lost their official documentation, material archive and portfolio narrative, this did not equate to limited sources of information available. My initial task was to seek other resources within the public domain on which to establish and chronicle the company and its manufacture of *Lincrusta*\*. What initially started as the desire to give a complete account of the company's history over the last 140 years, from what was assumed would be a limited selection of data, very soon became too large a project to deal with under the limitations of this thesis.

Therefore, focus was reduced until emphasis was placed on the first ten years of the Company. This gave an achievable objective, thereby enabling a broader assessment of the materials available, enabling me to create a foundational platform to provide a basis for further discussion. It is hoped that this information will allow for further study beyond standard business histories and begin to introduce further enlightenment from as broad a context as possible.

*Lincrusta-Walton*, established in 1877 by *Linoleum* inventor, Frederick Edward Walton (1834 – 1928), was a successful, linseed-oil based wall-covering, which takes its name from the Latin 'Linum' meaning 'Flax' and 'Crusta' meaning 'Bark' or 'Rind' (OED online).

*Lincrusta-Walton* was also manufactured under licence in France, Germany, Italy and the United States and has had a complicated record of company name changes in the UK to confuse the matter (Figure 1). A rebranding of the company

in 2015 saw LINCRUSTA® (Heritage Wall-coverings Limited) emerge from Lincrusta®, which had originally been marketed from 1877, as *Linoleum Muralis*, before being renamed *Lincrusta-Walton* from 1880. In addition, the material was also known as *The Sunbury Wall Decoration*, derived from the original location of manufacture in Sunbury-on-Thames.

Although not included within the scope of this thesis, Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 196) refer to a later, un-related material known as *Old Ford Lincrusta*, made by *Allan, Cockshut & Co.*, who also purchased an American version of a Lincrusta type wall-covering known as *Lignomur* in 1896. This material later changed its formula from a wood fibre pulp to a paper pulp, before transferring manufacture of the material, post 1897, to the *Lincrusta-Walton* works at Sunbury-on-Thames. (Simpson, 1999a, 114).

In order to simplify understanding of these changes *Lincrusta\** will be used to refer to historic *Lincrusta* prior to re-branding in 1993 to include *Linoleum Muralis*, *Lincrusta-Walton* and *The Sunbury Wall Decoration*. *Lincrusta®* will be used to refer to the re-branded material post 1993. LINCRUSTA® will refer to the company and its manufacture post 2015.

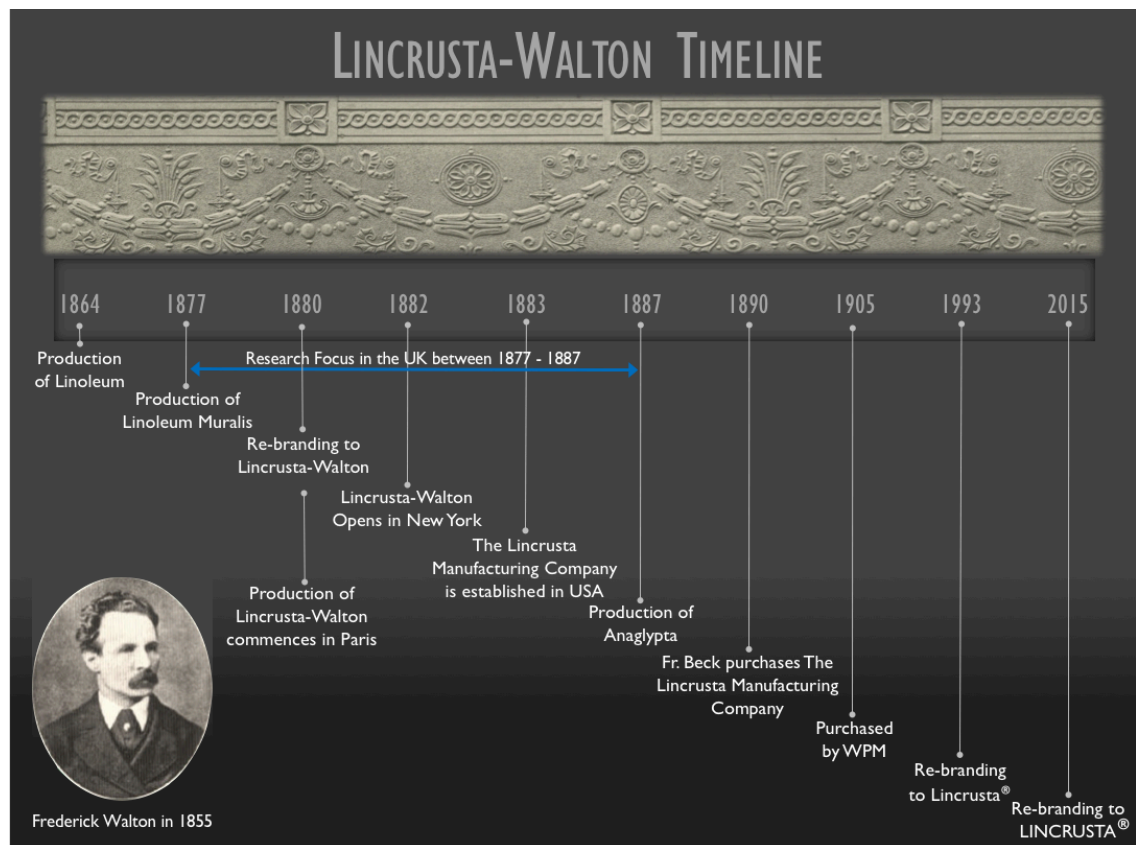


Figure 1 - *Lincrusta-Walton Timeline*

The material, still in production, is mechanically mass-produced and has, over its 140-year history, produced exceptionally beautiful, highly versatile and popular designs. The early history of the firm has not been adequately researched and the company were unaware of the historical details that surrounded the inception of the company. Andy Sarson (2016), Technical & Development Manager for LINCRUSTA® stated that company understanding was that the vast majority of original archival materials had been lost through changes in ownership to include the Wallpaper Manufacturers Limited (WPM), later Reed Decorative Products Ltd, then Crown Paints. Furthermore, occasional relocation and inconsiderate storage solutions had resulted in the remaining archive having been destroyed, at an unknown time, by a significant leak from a roof.

What small archive the company held, had been collected gradually over the last few years by employees of LINCRUSTA® though auctions and on-line purchases

and consisted of several twentieth-century catalogues and a ceramic vase, which stylistically appeared to date from the twentieth-century. The earliest surviving source within the LINCRUSTA® archive is a single, significantly damaged, red linen bound catalogue, dated 1898. The company were also aware of an on-line *Fr. Beck and Co.* catalogue available from Archive.org. (1894), which illustrated *Lincrusta-Walton* designs produced in the United States, however were not fully aware of the relationship that existed between the two companies.

Continued exploration by the company, had to date, failed to highlight further knowledge of the company and its inauguration beyond that of some freely available, on-line reference. Upon inspection, this information proved to be meagre, frequently repetitive and on occasion, inaccurate and unsubstantiated.

## 1.2 Aims and Objectives

This thesis therefore, aims to address this lack of knowledge and rectify any misinformation by creating a foundational understanding of nineteenth-century *Lincrusta*\*, to supplement the company archive by elucidating an understanding of the inauguration, design portfolio and promotion of this historic wall-covering in the United Kingdom (UK) from between the years of 1877 to 1887.

The intention of this thesis is to reveal the lost narrative of *Lincrusta*'s\* inaugural decade through primary sources, to rectify academic inaccuracies and to build an appreciation and foundational understanding of this ground-breaking brand within 19th century interior decoration. This thesis will also reveal early designs and costings, attribute important designers and illuminate their distribution and marketing strategies as well as establishing an understanding of its popularity as a decorative domestic and craft material.

Additionally, it is expected that this study will aid the recognition of the contribution that Frederick Walton and his inventions of *Lincrusta*\* and *Linoleum* made to this period of our history, whilst additionally augmenting the wider studies of nineteenth century historic interiors, craft materials, business histories, material culture and the manufacture and consumption of mechanically mass-produced wall-coverings of the late nineteenth-century.

This is to establish the early character and key developments of the company, whilst illustrating consumer perception, product desirability and marketing trends, through examination of the marketing of *Lincrusta*\* during inception and launch.

### 1.3 Methodology & Scope

As a Conservation student, my training encouraged comprehensive investigation of an object, integrating not only its material analysis but also that of the historic perspective. A comprehensive knowledge of an object, its material and history were required in order to facilitate a greater understanding of the possible solutions to its conservation and we gained a greater understanding of the fashion, taste and trends of the society into which the object was conceived.

‘The object’s history, including ownership, is researched to provide evidence of authenticity... as well as... period culture associations’. (Caple, 2006, 21).

This thesis draws upon this training, but also utilises additional deductive methodologies and theoretical approaches in order to isolate additional information and broaden our understanding of the subject.

I have drawn upon aspects and theoretical approaches found in the study of decorative arts history, architecture, cultural & social history, anthropology and the history of manufacturing and technology to illuminate the connections that exist between *Lincrusta*\* and *Linoleum* marketing propaganda and contemporary literary comment, during the latter quarter of the nineteenth-century. Discussion will be addressed from the perspective of the use of the material between 1877 and 1887, the year in which *Lincrusta*’s\* first major competitor, *Anaglypta* (See glossary) was launched at the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, Manchester, whilst also illuminating the life and work of Frederick Edward Walton (1834 - 1928) the inventor of *Lincrusta*\*. It is expected that the examination of the connections that exist between the use of *Lincrusta*\* by artists, architects, crafters, designers and householders, as well as relevant contemporary literature from writers and journalists, will help to build further upon our current understanding of *Lincrusta*\*. Documentary research was focused on previously unexplored primary sources



found in historic advertisements, journals, newspapers and trade publications, as well as utilising the limited secondary resources that discuss *Lincrusta*\* specifically. Furthermore, publications on the historic home, designers, household taste, interior design and the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as other associated subjects were sourced and studied in order to isolate references to *Lincrusta*\* and highlight further avenues of research.

A literature review on *Lincrusta*\* and other wallpaper publications was carried out in order to ascertain what had been written on *Lincrusta*\* and other raised relief wallcoverings to isolate key secondary sources. Additional material was sourced through the exploration of public and private archives held at LINCRUSTA® at Lancaster, Crown Paints Limited at Darwen, and *the Whitworth Art Gallery* in Manchester, in addition to other relevant third-party sources and were undertaken to gain perspective from the producer and assess the original source material.

## 1.4 Frederick Walton

In order to fully appreciate the significance of the development of *Lincrusta*\* it was necessary to gain an understanding of the inventor as it allows greater context of both the product he invented and the company he started. Frederick Edward Walton (Figure 2) was born on the 13th March 1834 at Warley, Sowerby Bridge, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, the second son of James Walton (1802 - 1883) and his wife, Ann Kenworthy (1803 – 1885). (Walton, 2017; Baker, 2004).



Figure 2 - Frederick Walton approximately 1925 (Bridgeman Art Library 2017)

James, the son of Isaac Walton, a merchant, was born in Stubbin near Sowerby Bridge, Yorkshire in 1802. In 1824, he made improvements to Richard Arkwright's rotary carding engine, creating a superior process that transformed raw cotton into cotton lap; an operation whereby, wool or cotton was dragged (combed) between wire teeth to clean and align the wool fibres, before passing onto the roving frame which twisted the fibres ready for the spinning frame; a further process whereby the fibres were spun into yarn ready for weaving. In 1853, he established *James Walton & Sons*, a manufacturing works at Haughton Dale in Lancashire, the largest establishment of its kind in the world, to produce India-rubber wire cards for carding cotton. (Boase, 2017; Bull, 2017; Cookson, 2017; Hall, 2017).

Frederick Walton was educated in Bradford and Wakefield and spent some time in France and Belgium before joining his elder brother William, at his father's firm, at the age of 21 (Baker, 2004). James gave his son a workshop and Frederick gained a thorough understanding of the processes and use of *Caoutchouc* (see glossary), commonly known as India-rubber, and *Gutta Percha* (see glossary), whilst:

'... pursuing his scientific discoveries - in endeavouring to find substitutes for elastic gums, for papier-mâché materials, for ivory, & c.' (Walton, 1862, 332).

During his time at *James Walton & Sons*, Frederick was successful in his research and invention, presenting his first patents for 'an improved plastic composition' in 1857 and although not financially successful, Frederick was able to manufacture, amongst other things, a range of hair, clothes and horse brushes. (Parsons, 1996).

On the 4th June 1864 the production of *Linoleum* commenced and with capital of £25,000, *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company* was born (Parsons, 1996). It is almost certain, that in order to maintain his first *Linoleum* manufactory at the *British Grove Works* at Chiswick, London, as well as continue with his innovation and research, Walton took on a number of partners and was not the controlling partner. He received a salary as manager and held a seat on the board as well as owning a significant number of shares in the company known as *Frederick Walton & Co.* confirmed by a letter in *The Times* on the 25th March 1862 (Galegroup.com, 2017) however, he had to relinquish his controlling interest in order to put his creation into production. He did however, retain his name on all the patents and advertising, although at some time the company produced *Linoleum* as '*Messer's Walton, Taylor and Co.*' (The Times, 1878).

There is a suggestion that Walton may not always have had good business relations with his partners at *Linoleum* and we find Walton write within his biography *The Infancy and Development of Linoleum Floorcloth* published in 1925 (40 - 45), that on his return from America in 1875, after two years erecting the building and manufacturing machinery for *The American Linoleum Company*, he left *The Staines Linoleum Company* (re-named when the company moved to Staines, Middlesex in 1867). This was due in part to their clandestine production of an inlaid *Linoleum* he himself had hoped to invent.

Walton pursued the company to release him from his contract that also tied all his future inventions to *The Staines Linoleum Company*, in exchange for not pursuing a £20,000 settlement for non-fulfilment of promise. He underlines his feelings quite clearly by informing his reader that he instructed his lawyer to include, within his release documentation, a caveat that read:

'And the said Frederick Walton shall be at liberty to do what he pleases with any of his new inventions' (1926, 46).

However, we find additional allusions that Walton continued to have further business dealings with the company despite having parted with *Linoleum* three years earlier; Walton enters with *Linoleum* into a legal battle to retain the rights to the name. A trade-mark court action was brought in January 1878, by *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company* of Frederick Walton against *Messrs Nairn & Co.*, oil-cloth manufacturers of Kirkcaldy, in order to test their exclusive right to the use of the word *Linoleum*. The hearing was heard at Chancery, a court authorised to apply principles of equity, such as that of a contract, as opposed to law, in cases brought before it. (Legal Information Institute, 2017). Mr Justice [Edward] Fry (1827 - 1918) presided, while Mr Dickinson Q.C. and Mr F.C.J. Millar appeared for the plaintiff (Walton) and with a Mr Graham Hastings Q.C. and a Mr Lawson appearing on behalf of Messrs. Nairn & Co. (*The Times*, 1878).

Mr Justice Fry when summing up, recognised Frederick, as a 'member' of the firm formally known as Walton, Taylor and Co., the inventor of the name as well as the process and who had 'from time to time' applied patents for the making of 'plastic compounds and floorcloths, and machinery to be applied in the manufacture'. However, he agreed with the defendants in that they had a right to make and sell the article under some name, and that he did not regard the name as being applied exclusively to the plaintiffs and cited *Lord Hatherley v Excelsior White Soft Soap*; 'a recent case' whereby, *Excelsior* was legally retained as it had been 'in addition' to the new substance 'White Soft Soap'.

In the case of *Nairn v Linoleum*, the substance had no name other than that of *Linoleum*, which had become synonymous to the customer when referring to the product and therefore not the manufacturer, which Mr Justice Fry pointed out, the company had themselves been in the habit of using to describe the compound.

Walton defended his claim by informing the court that the product was only well known due to his having spent £10,000 on advertising through W.H. Smith, however, the case was awarded, with costs, to *Nairn & Co.*

Over his lifetime, Frederick obtained 88 patents for a number of different applications to include *Lincrusta*\*, *Linoleum*, flexible metal tubing, aircraft parts, car suspension systems, plastics, artificial leather and finally a meat extract which was to become famous around the world and known as O.K. Sauce. (Coleman, 1934, 119).

We know from an article to celebrate the centenary of Walton's birth that Frederick was:

‘about 5 feet 6 inches tall and light in weight. His feet were unusually small, and he was exceedingly proud of their size. In dress he was careful but by no means a dandy’ (Coleman, 1934, 128).

Frederick was married in 1867 to Alice Ann Scruby (1841 – 1919) and they had four children. In later life, he retired to the South of France where he enjoyed painting watercolours and writing poetry. Sadly, he was run over by a taxi and died as a result on 16th May 1928 at the age of 94. He is buried in the English quarter of La Cascada Cimetiere in Nice (Coleman, 1934, 128).

## 1.5 Walton's Boiled Oil

Walton's earlier invention, *Linoleum*, has a bearing on our understanding of *Lincrusta*\* and there are numerous stories regarding Walton's discovery of *Linoleum*, suffice it to say most literary discussion tends to romanticise the discovery. Simpson (1997, 281) tells us:

‘The legend is that one day the young Walton noticed the top of a paint jar had a skin of oxidised linseed oil. He peeled it off and began playing with the rubberlike piece, thinking of ways to use it.’

However, Walton himself, when addressing the *Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce* on 4th April 1862, explained that the subject came to his attention two years earlier in 1860, whilst engaged:

‘in a series of experiments on the manufacture of artificial leather, it was of the greatest importance to the success of the material that it should have a coat of fine varnish, which, whilst drying quickly, possessed the flexibility of India-rubber.’ (Walton, 1862, 330).

Copal varnish, a combination of drying oil and gum copal was considered the superior varnish of its time but was unsuitable for artificial leather manufacturing as oxidation could take between 6 and 24 hours. Walton continued by explaining that:

‘...it suddenly occurred to me that if the oil was first dried into a skin, like those I had often seen on paint cans [and] ...was dissolved in a volatile solvent... that the semi-resinous material would immediately on the evaporation of the solvent, resume, like India-rubber, the form it was in prior to solution.’ (1863, 330).

His experiments led him to dip panes of glass repeatedly into the linseed oil before allowing them to dry between applications and he admitted that:

‘up to this stage I had done nothing new or original, for the oil sheet manufacturers have for more than a century waterproofed linen by layers of oil.’ (1863, 330).

It was Walton's claim that the process of drying, by painting onto stretched, pre-prepared cloths, for use in manufacture which had been 'perfectly new', and which he had patented on 27th January 1860, British patent No. 209 (Jester, 2014).

Walton (1862, 330) described the process whereby oxidised oil was crushed and a small amount of shellac added before the mixture was then thoroughly kneaded in hot mixing vats creating a material not unlike that of *India-rubber*. Walton suggested the new medium could be rolled onto fabrics:

'...giving a perfect waterproof cloth, unlike oilcloth, but having the rubber finish and flexibility'.

Regardless, this early state most resembled that of a waterproofing varnish which Walton took out a patent on in September 1861 for the 'waterproofing and coating of fabrics and other uses.' (Parsons, 1996).

Walton's experiments continued to look for a 'medium state' that would emulate India-rubber cement or dough and that was capable of being manipulated and quick-drying. The addition of Naphtha, a distillate of coal, created a material more closely resembling that of the India-rubber Walton was searching for, however in his address to the *Royal Society* in April 1862, Walton appears to imply that he had not, at that stage, considered manufacturing himself and he appears to be offering his newly discovered, 'boiled oil' varnish, to other manufacturers to investigate and utilise. '...not being waterproofers ourselves...'.

'I shall be enabled to place before you such particulars in relation to my discovery as will convince you of its value, scientifically and commercially ...and then we shall be most happy to demonstrate to anyone interested, the applicability of this new material to the purposes specified.' (Walton, 1862, 330 -332).

Walton listed the significant advantages his new material offered, which he claimed replicated, and could be treated in almost all respects, as per India-rubber 'on fabrics or combined with fibre for floor cloths...worked with pigment



and vulcanised exactly as India-rubber', and which formed a 'hard compound like vulcanite and ebonite, excepting that the sulphur is not necessary'.

Walton lists all the applications he envisions his material to eventually emulate most notably, washable felt carpets. (Walton, 1862, 330 -332, Simpson, 1999a, 18).

By early 1863, Walton had recognised that his newly patented material could be rolled directly onto a backing fabric in a single pass through mechanised rollers, and Walton applied a patent to his process in April 1863. Parsons (1996) and Pickup (2015), both give us the same information from the original patent that helps clarify Walton's first expression of his intentions towards his new material, as well as give a greater understanding of the almost identical process and ingredients Walton would later adapt in the creation of *Lincrusta*\* (discussed in Section 1.6) and successive other innovations, with most utilising his research and adaptation of boiled linseed oil with the use of various fillers:

'...this invention has for its object improvements in the making of fabrics for covering floors and other surfaces... canvas or other suitable strong fabric [which] are coated over their upper surfaces with a composition consisting of oxidised oil, coal dust and gum or resin, preferring Kauri or New Zealand gum, such surfaces being afterwards primed, painted, embossed or otherwise ornamented...' (Parsons, 1996; Pickup, 2015).

We can learn from Walton's persistent inventive pursuit of a medium state varnish that he had great faith in himself and in his new discovery and although his new material was received enthusiastically, he had no success in finding an interested party willing to take on his invention and was therefore, required to pursue the discovery of a suitable vehicle himself.

*Linoleum* production began and Simpson (1999, 80) tells us that Walton claimed the company made '53,133 square yards of *Linoleum* in their first year'. By 1866, *Linoleum* were reporting steady sales with a profit of £7361.12.

By 1868, the company were able to pay their first dividend to shareholders on profits that amounted to £11096.17 (Simpson, 1999, 80). By 1869 the company was exporting to Europe and the United States.

It is quite clear from his address to the Royal Society, that as a young man of 26, Frederick sees himself as an inventor and not as a manufacturer and writes that 'Although an inventor, I was no man of business.' (Walton, 1925, 21), and as a boy he 'had never any desire to follow the business of my father' (Walton, 1925, 15). However, he greatly admired his father's ingenuity as he describes him as 'a man of genius and a great inventor' (Walton, 1925, 14).

## 1.6 The Manufacture of Lincrusta\* and Linoleum

Technically, the perception of *Lincrusta\**, with its ‘rubbery’ surface is that it does not strictly adhere to our understanding of wallpaper. Reference to the Oxford dictionary, defines wallpaper as ‘*Paper* that is pasted in vertical strips over the walls of a room to provide a decorative surface’ (The Oxford Dictionary, 2016). *Lincrusta\** is pasted in strips onto a wall and does have a paper substrate, although this has not always been the case. Originally, *Lincrusta\** had a stout canvas backing like Linoleum that Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 251) tell us made it as ‘...stiff as buckram and rigid as a plank...’. This was permanently replaced in 1887 with a light waterproof paper which succeeded in giving *Lincrusta\** greater flexibility when being worked.

According to LINCRUSTA® there are noticeable differences in the ingredients between *Linoleum* and *Lincrusta\** however, Simpson, (1999a, 103) erroneously informs us that they are the same with only minor changes in the production of the raw material mainly, the need for ageing is not necessary in the production of *Lincrusta\** (Table 1).

**TABLE 1 - LINCRUSTA\* AND LINOLEUM INGREDIENTS**

INGREDIENT	LINCRUSTA*	LINOLEUM
Linseed Oil Putty	x	x
Pine Resin known as Rosin or Gum Rosin	x	x
Kauri or New Zealand Gum (A fossil gum)		x
Wood flour	x	
Ground cork powder		x
Paraffin wax	x	
Titanium White pigment	x	
Paper backing originally a hessian canvas	x	
Scrim or butter cloth. A lightweight fabric made of cotton or hemp similar to muslin or cheesecloth.		x

The production method of *Lincrusta*\* has remained unchanged since the 1870s, linseed oil 'putty' as it is known, is fed through the embossing rollers, one is flat, and guides the paper backing, the other has the decoration. Pressure is applied creating the design and adhering the paper to the back. The finished *Lincrusta*\* does not require long periods to cure and can be hung almost immediately with a shelf life of up to two years, after which, the oxidation process, which had continued past manufacture, will make the material too stiff to work (Figure 3).



Figure 3 – LINCRUSTA® production at Lancaster with grateful acknowledgement to Ken Storey for the images

#### PHOTOGRAPH INDEX

1. Gelled Linseed Oil	2. Pine Resin	3. Extruded Linseed Oil Putty
4. Roller Collection	5. Chromed Roller	6. Embossing the design
7. LINCRUSTA® post production drying	8. Inspected by Hand	9. The Finished product

In reviewing the Lincrusta\* exemplar discussed in Section 2.5, Nicholas Lopes (2016), a master's fellow from the wall-coverings department at the Cooper-Hewitt-Smithsonian, states a few inaccuracies in his brief description of the *Lincrusta\** remnant within their collection. He described the formula as 'linseed oil'... 'gum [,] resin' and 'wood-pulp'. We also find 'gum [,] resin' appears in Hoskins (2005, 156). Both appear to be utilising the incorrect terminology used in Simpson's *Cheap, Quick and Easy* publication (1999, 102), who also inserted a comma between 'gum' and 'resin'. This term is inaccurate and causes repeated confusion and misrepresentation across both illustrious institutions and within wallpaper scholarship as a whole. The correct ingredients are Pine Resin known as Rosin or Gum Rosin which is found in both *Linoleum* and *Lincrusta\** with the addition of Kauri or New Zealand Gum found only in *Linoleum*.

Additionally, the suggested 'wood-pulp' infers the material used in paper production, not the much finer 'wood flour' that was an ingredient in *Lincrusta\**. This again causes confusion, due in part to the ingredients found in wallpapers and Lignomur, an American product, first marketed in 1880 and based on 'wood fibre pulp'.

Lopes then explains that this, 'not only made the 'paper' durable but also 'waterproof'. *Lincrusta\** is not paper. It is a wall covering made from distinctive materials that have no similarity or shared commonalty with paper. Paper is used on the back of the material as a hydrating and softening receptor. Water is soaked into the paper to create flexibility and a surface onto which the adhesive can adhere.

Furthermore, Lopes also describes the material as 'a washable wallpaper' and continues to use the term until he finally describes the 'paper' as being 'created

by pressing the mixture into a mold, leading to a raised pattern' which as previously discussed, is also misleading. In addition, he describes the material as 'embossed... while still in the pulp stage'. This is a description of the production of *Anaglypta* and would infer that *Lincrusta*\* utilises 'paper pulp' when in fact, it uses Linseed oil putty, which adheres itself to the paper backing when passing through the embossing rollers. (Cooper-Hewitt, 2016).

It was also noted during the course of this study that reference to *Lincrusta*\* as a 'relief "moulded" wall-covering' e.g. Hoskins et al (2005, 171), is inaccurate. Moulding or casting is a process whereby the molten material flows into a mould. *Lincrusta*\* is embossed or imprinted by 3D rollers whereby force is utilised to impress the design onto the material (aalto, 2017).

**N.B.** Modern day LINCRUSTA® no longer includes wood flour. This is to enable the material to meet British fire regulations to Class B, s2-d0 under BS EN15102:2007. Instead, Alumina Trihydrate (ATH) -  $\text{Al}(\text{OH})_3$ , also known as gibbsite, a fire-retardant powdered compound has been utilised since 2015. This change has made little difference to the workability and aesthetic of the material. (Walton, 1925, 31; Sarson, 2017).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter initiates the investigation of Lincrusta\* by seeking to identify and examine the resources available, highlighting in the first instance, the lack of either historic or current, relevant and accurate material. In addition, this chapter illuminates the lack of public exhibition and discusses the possible reasons behind this. Subsequent discussion identifies and introduces supplementary, previously unexplored primary data in the form of authentic catalogues, utilising a particular methodology based on the proposition that original catalogues are relevant primary data that can be used actively as evidence rather than passively as illustrations.

The methodological approach in this chapter has been informed by J Prown's 1982 paper 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method' (1 - 16) where, we are informed that objects are a significant source of primary data, enabling understanding and scholarship of an object which, he defines as made or modified by humans.

Furthermore, this chapter recognises particular design and iconographical elements associated with the designs of Dr. Christopher Dresser and Lewis Forman Day whose creative, innovative and fashionable designs were notably influential within Aestheticism and art nouveau design, and from which it was possible to perceive the aesthetic, social, cultural and economic values of Frederick Walton and those responsible for producing Lincrusta\*.

This chapter further explores the possible connections between Frederick Walton and other celebrated designers. Establishing the significance and contribution the study of Lincrusta\* will bring to our knowledge of manufacturing, design, designers and the design movements during the latter part of an extraordinary



century that saw substantial advancement in manufacturing and technology, and to which Lincrusta\* can claim to have made a meaningful contribution.

## 2.1 Overview of Resources and Exhibitions

My research has suggested that existing scholarship does not often survey mechanised, mass-produced wall coverings. What little there is, is frequently published with subtle inaccuracies regarding material ingredients or other misinformation on *Lincrusta*\*. Inaccuracies are repeatedly passed from one publication or institution to another, as found at the Cooper-Hewitt or within the secondary reference materials, discussed in greater detail within Section 1.6.

Academic study tends to discuss wallcovering examples held within historic National Trust properties (De Bruijn et al, 2014) or from the homes of leading personalities e.g. Horace Walpole and his home 'Strawberry Hill' (Vukovich, 2007), scrutinising the material either from the perspective of the personality or from the building itself. While this study of the interiors of individual properties is valuable for understanding specific interior schemes, this approach does not involve the discussion of *Lincrusta*\* more generally. Discursive texts tend to discuss wallpaper from the perspective of restoration projects such as *The Triumph of Religion Murals* at the Boston (Massachusetts) Library (Chang, 2004), or endangered building conservation e.g. St Pancras Hotel London (Skipper 2013) although these rarely chronicle the specifics of manufacturer nor expose their missing history or early design portfolio.

Examples of wall-coverings held within museums or illustrated within exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues appear to often exemplify only the expensive, exclusive or exuberant wallpapers. The history of wallpapers appears infrequently at the vanguard of interiors or design exhibitions, with rare exceptions being those pieces that have passed into archives and museum collections with well documented pedigrees of architect, artisan or designer e.g. William Morris or from the perspective of early import wallpapers from China or

Japan or the scenic panoramiques of Dufour found internationally within design institutions such as the V & A in London or the Cooper-Hewitt in New York. Additionally, there are few major public collections of historic wallpaper. Christine Woods' paper, *An Object Lesson to a Philistine Age: The Wall Paper Manufacturers Museum and the Formation of the National Collections* (1999), informs us that the UK had four collections, of which 'two are owned by the nation and two by universities registered by the Museums & Galleries Commission'. Woods then goes on to exemplify three collections at The V & A in London, the Manchester City Gallery and *The Whitworth Art Gallery*, part of the University of Manchester, who owe much of their collection to the 1926 publication of *The History of English Wallpaper 1509 – 1914*. This was written by A. V. Sugden, then Chairman of the Wall Paper Manufacturers (1928 – 1948), the owners of *Lincrusta-Walton*, and J. L. Edmondson, formerly a journalist with the *Manchester Guardian*. Research for the book and the interest generated by its publication resulted in the most substantial collection of historic wallpapers held within an archive at that time; housed under the protection of A.V. Sugden and the archives of the WPM, which would in time significantly assist in the formation of our current National collections (Woods 1999). Nevertheless, when looking for associated material, regardless of the name changes, there has been virtually no attention given to *Lincrusta\**, with even less about the inventor, Frederick Walton or of the company itself. There appears to be a void. Woods (1999) writes of wallpapers, yet resonates throughout my study of *Lincrusta\**:

'The real puzzle, therefore, is the lack of attention paid, both by historians and the general-public, to these important artefacts and the trades and industries associated with them'.

Certainly, there has been an historic disregard for machine-made, mass-produced wallpapers. Indeed, an early pioneer in the collection of wallpaper, A.V. Sugden, in a letter describing the WPM collection of mid-nineteenth-century wallpapers to the V & A, writes of machine-printed products and early sanitary productions as 'Freak types in machine work', which certainly implies a certain level of disdain (Woods, 1999, 6).

Faced with many questions and with a view to collating reference material, research sought additional examples within other museums and institutions, only to discover there was virtually nothing, although there is certainly an observed evidence of a growing respect for examples held within museums and private collections.

The most frequently Illustrated is an example held within a collection of seven examples at the Cooper Hewitt-Smithsonian in New York and discussed in greater detail in Section 2.5, who inform their audience of the rarity of their remnant.

Therefore, does this lack of research discussing *Lincrusta*\* by academics imply a lack of interest from other professionals and members of the general-public? This did not seem to be the case. There are several public and professional websites, blogs and forums from the UK and around the world, most notably, the United States, Germany and Australia, that regularly publish on-line discussions on *Lincrusta*\* found in historic homes and buildings, or used in modern conservation and restoration projects, but often, the information is incorrect and from unknown, unattributed sources.

There is simply very little written research on *Lincrusta*\*. Indeed, Bo Sullivan (Email: 29 November 2016), an American, amateur researcher and long-term enthusiast supports this claim by suggesting that there is a significant lack of relevant, original nineteenth-century material from which to draw conclusions, especially from the UK.

When looking to examine *Lincrusta*\* research from the perspective of public exhibitions, Hoskins et al (2004, 215) discuss the growing market of the post-war years, which encouraged exhibition of 'well-designed' wallpapers, with the wallpaper industry participating 'enthusiastically', promoting its own public display. Yet, Teynac et al (1982, 193 – 194) lists only 54 'important' international exhibitions between 1882 and 1982. Only 9 of these were in the UK. The final and only exhibition held outside London, incorrectly listed within Teynac et al (1982, 193 – 194) as held in 1973, was held between 4<sup>th</sup> March and 9<sup>th</sup> April 1972 at *The Whitworth Art Gallery*. The exhibition was sponsored by the WPM and the catalogue, found at the gallery, informs the reader of the exhibition being formed exclusively from the WPM wallpaper collection donated to the gallery in 1967. No example of a design from *Lincrusta*\* was included despite being owned by the WPM at that time. However, my research identified that an additional exhibition was held in 1985 at *The Whitworth Art Gallery*, Manchester, *A Decorative Art: 19th Century Wallpapers in The Whitworth Art Gallery* and sponsored by amongst others, Crown Wall-coverings at Darwen, the then producer of *Lincrusta*\*. The exhibition did not exhibit *Lincrusta*\* within the display although did include two *Lincrusta*\* illustrations within the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition: the colour chromolithograph advertisement for *Lincrusta-Walton* from the March 1884 edition of *The Journal of Decorative Art* (), as well as a copy of the early advertisement seen on the next page and dated 1882 (Figure 5).



Figure 4 – A colour advertisement chromolithograph for *Lincrusta-Walton* illustrated in *The Journal of Decorative Art* - March 1884 – *The Whitworth Art Gallery*



Figure 5 – Advertisement for *Lincrusta-Walton* 1882. Reproduced from *The Journal of Decorative Art* (*The Whitworth Art Gallery* 1985 – Artists own image 2018)

However, the exhibition did not display any examples nor was the unattributed, free-standing shop display (Accession number W.1989.1) the Whitworth Gallery hold within their archive, placed within the exhibition. (Figure 6).

The review of resources and exhibitions suggest there is a lack of understanding regarding *Lincrusta*\*, either from the perspective of the material, its significance in relation to *Linoleum* or in its contribution to the history of interior decoration and Victorian innovation. This would appear to suggest that as yet, *Lincrusta*\* has not been recognised as of interest to the general public, however the author recognises that there does appear to be a slowly growing understanding and scholarship of decorative wall materials that may begin to recognise there is a lot more to learn about *Lincrusta*\* which this paper will help to augment.



Figure 6 – *Lincrusta-Walton* advertising screen (1 and 2) from the early twentieth-century, housed within the collection - accession number W.1989.1 at *The Whitworth Art Gallery*

## 2.2 Nineteenth-Century Primary Resources

In order to establish an understanding of the inaugural, early years of the inventor, the company, their designs and marketing strategies, it was necessary to examine the company from first-hand contemporary resources of the late nineteenth-century, in order to build a record, establish facts and to isolate additional information that would be open to further interpretation.

As previously discussed, LINCRUSTA® have retained very little archival material regarding the company's inception, marketing, distribution or consumption. The LINCRUSTA® archive consists of a dozen or so hard-backed examples of catalogues dated to post 1898. The oldest and only nineteenth-century original catalogue from their collection is an 84-page, 265mm x 405mm red linen covered catalogue with a date of 1898 (Figure 7a & Figure 7b).

Additionally, the company were aware of only one older catalogue published in 1894 by *Fr. (Frederick) Beck & Co.* of New York, the patent holder in the United States. They had also been gifted images of an un-dated Italian catalogue from an American enthusiast, that my research established was dated to 1960.



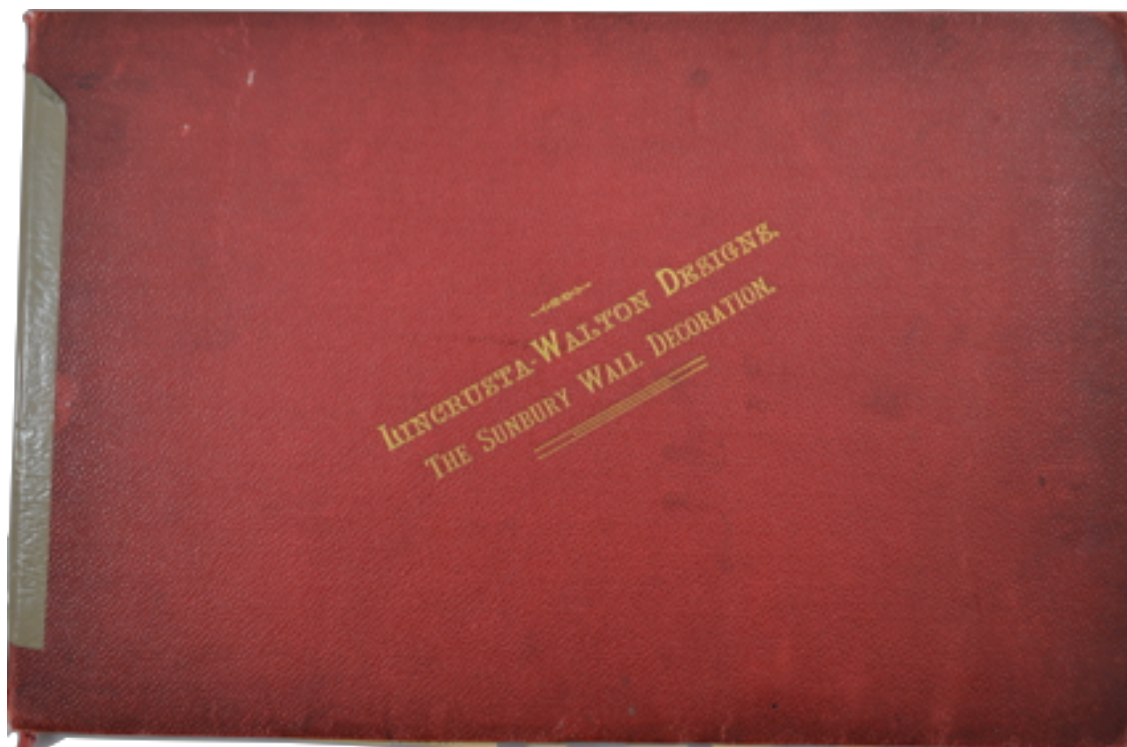


Figure 7a – Red 1898 Linen bound *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue 1898



Figure 7b – Title page to Red *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue 1898

The UK Red 1898 catalogue photographically illustrates 727 designs in black and white and would probably have been held by an unknown retailer to illustrate the *Lincrusta*\* designs on offer to their customers. The catalogue had been well used and extensively annotated in pencil. It was also incomplete, with 19 of the pages missing, in addition to a dozen or so designs that had been completely cut out to include all of the instructional pages referred to on the lower left edge of the frontispiece (See Figure 6b). The catalogue of designs comprised 60 Dadoes, 89 Fillings, 68 Friezes, 168 Borders, 37 Ceilings, 106 Plaques, 87 Door and other panels, 65 Dado and Picture Rails, 37 Table & Toilet Mats and 10 Finger plates a total of 727 separate items. The catalogue also illustrated additional black and white drawn illustrations and various other black and white photographic plates exemplifying room schemes and written hanging instructions. Further pages held additional discursive text and advice, however there was no identification nor discussion of *Lincrusta*\* designers.

We can assume that, as today, catalogues were an important asset to sales and, although few historic catalogues mention printers or image reproduction techniques, it is quite clear that the 1898 *Lincrusta*\* catalogue had been mass-produced. The paper is not of good quality with pages of irregular dimensions that suggest it may have been cheaply collated, hand gathered and unclipped before binding, rather than a more professional, perhaps more expensive process of machine collating before being clipped and bound tightly, as the pages are set irregularly and miss-aligned to the other pages within the volume. Errors in the printing process can be clearly identified with numerous typing errors and images that in some cases, do not sit squarely on the page with irregular borders. Indeed, page 15 has been inserted upside down (Figure 8).

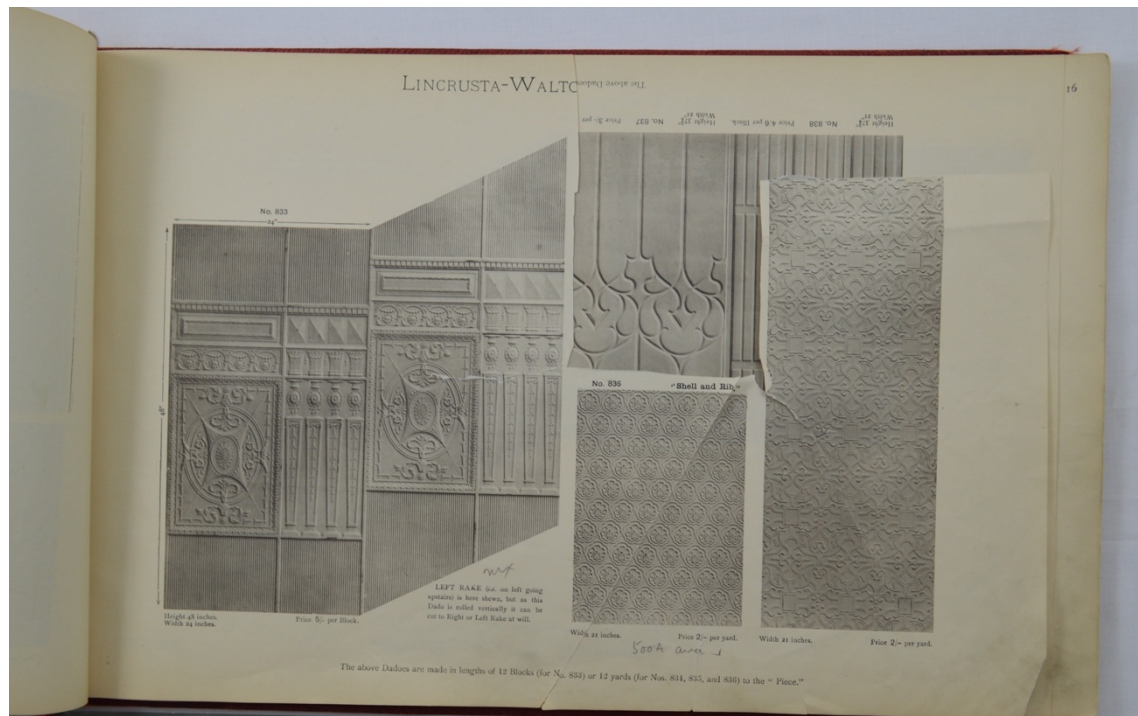


Figure 8 – Red Linen bound *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue 1898 showing areas of loss, pencil notation and the upside-down insertion of page 15. Design No. 836 *Shell and Rib* had been cut through the middle and the loose page left within the catalogue

Research suggests that *Lincrusta*\* catalogues are extremely rare. Despite a continued search by the company, no additional nineteenth-century examples had been found in the UK, either in museums or within private collections. This suggests that their value as a research tool is not currently acknowledged nor their visual aesthetic recognised. This lack of nineteenth-century catalogues also meant there was no record of the original *Lincrusta*\* design portfolio. It was therefore essential that an understanding of these early designs be determined in order to interpret and establish designers, production dates and to build an understanding of the early marketing, ethos, material applications or manufacturers suggestions and other information that may have been advertised within the early catalogues.



### 2.3 Additional Nineteenth-Century Primary Resources

During a visit by the author to the Crown Paints Archive in Darwen, Lancashire, an 88-page, brown linen covered catalogue (Figure 9), approximately A4 in size, was discovered. The catalogue contained designs from Lincrusta-Walton at Pierrefitte near Paris, France. Unfortunately, the catalogue was undated, however design characteristics and the inclusion of a design by Hector Guimard for the Castel Béranger opened in 1898 (discussed further in Section 2.6 & Figure 26) suggested an approximate date.

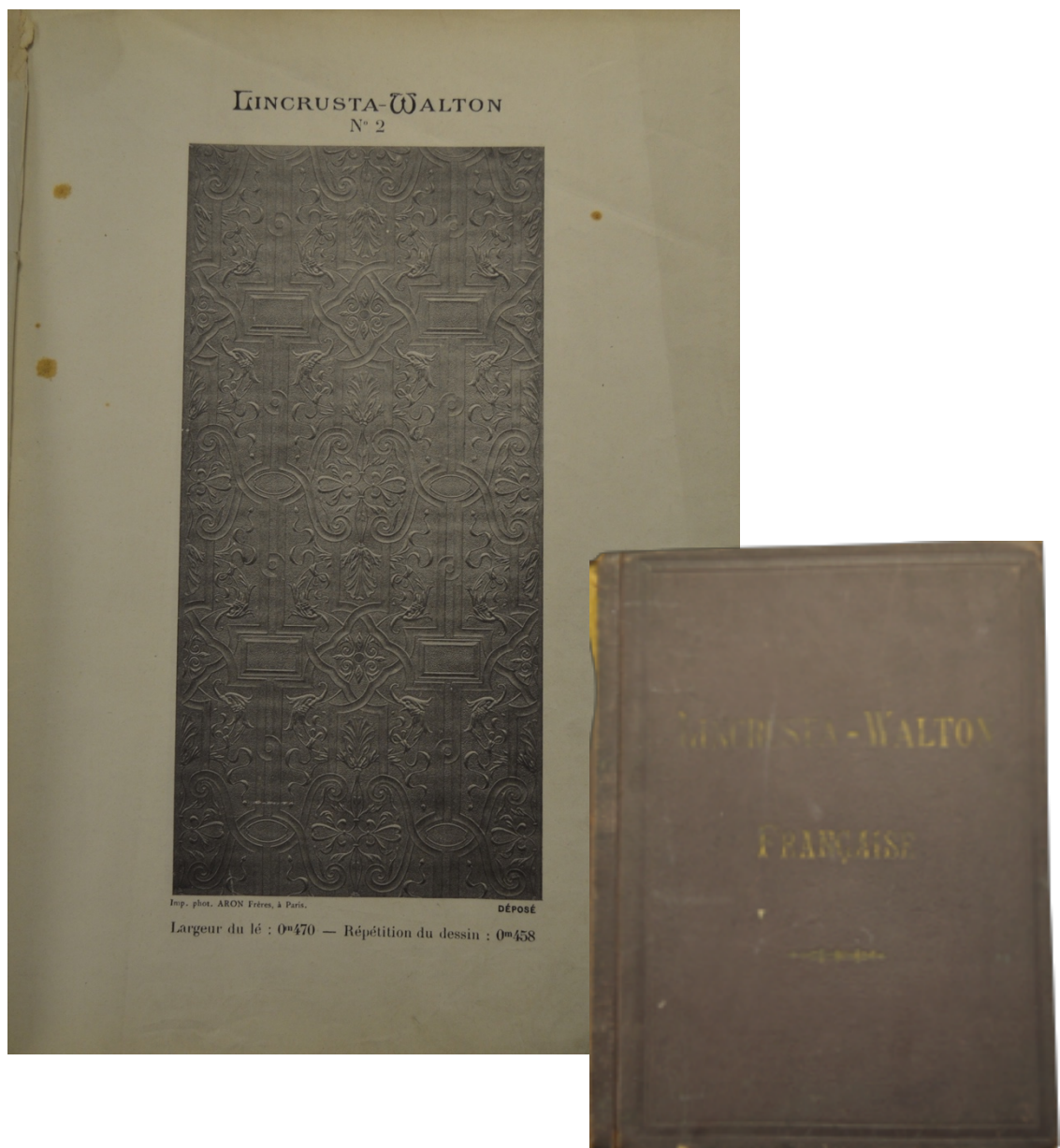


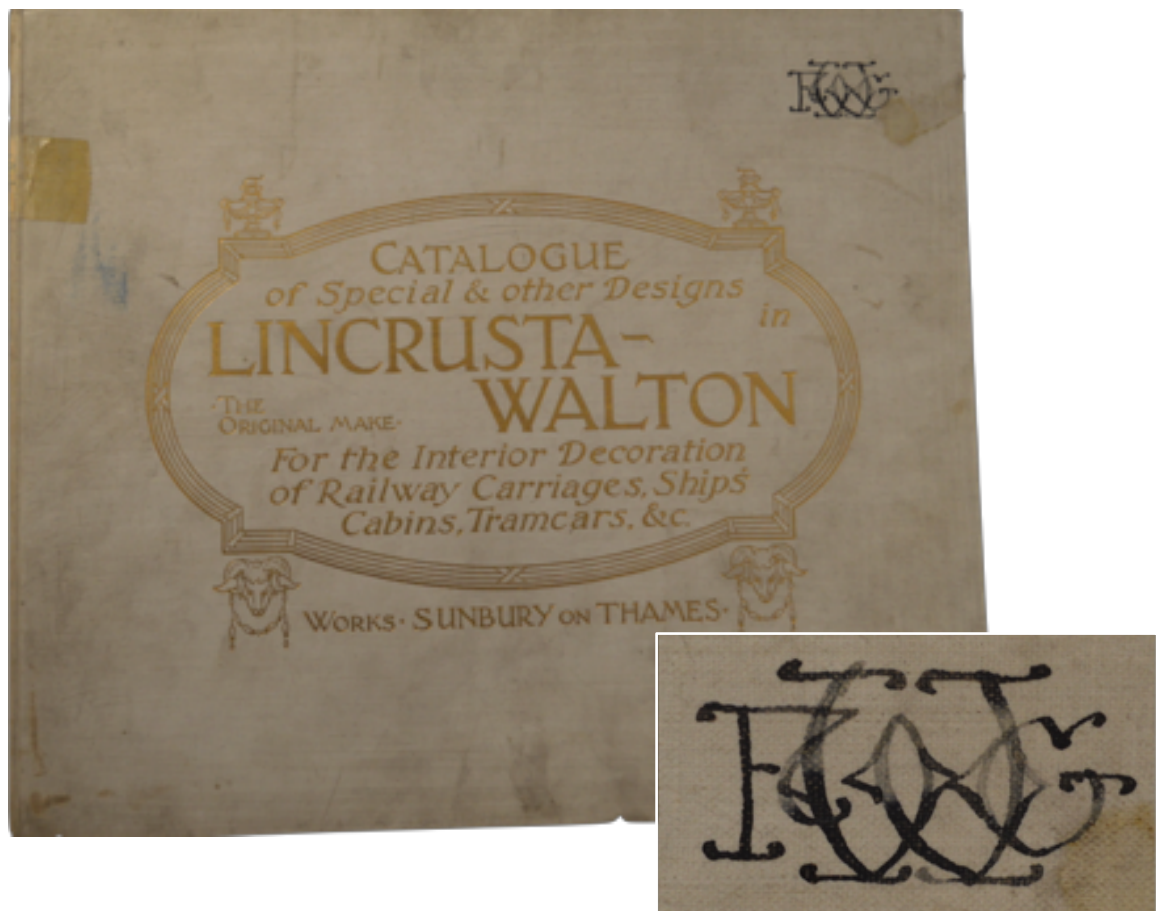
Figure 9 – Brown linen bound French *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue dated to approximately 1898

This catalogue was not fully assessed as it is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, it represents a valuable and significant avenue for additional research along with other French catalogues that have been noted within the public domain or on online auction sites. No further nineteenth-century catalogues were found at this time within the Crown archive at Lancaster.

Found in addition to the catalogues were twentieth-century notebooks and ledgers at Crown, that detailed amongst other things, catalogues that were sent out annually on September 1<sup>st</sup> with updated price lists issued on April 1<sup>st</sup> or when necessary due to material cost increase, which appeared to follow no discernible pattern. The catalogues were then delivered by train to wholesalers. It would therefore not be unreasonable to suggest that *Lincrusta*\* utilised the same mode of transportation and catalogue distribution timetable during the late nineteenth-century however, it must be noted that the timetable of distribution on September 1<sup>st</sup> of each year is when *Lincrusta*\* were under the ownership of the WPM. Although no specific records of catalogue numbers or wholesaler locations or agents were found specific to the period of study, these volumes coupled with recognition of the distribution of *Lincrusta*\* through agents, architects and decorators etc. offers up a significant avenue for further research regarding *Lincrusta*'s\* administrative practices and network of retailers during the twentieth-century under the ownership of the WPM, however goes beyond the scope of this investigation. Without any accurate figures it is difficult to assess how many catalogues would have been sent out yearly. In comparison, Simpson (1999, 112 – 113) writes of the request of William Stewart Morton of *Tynecastle Tapestry* (See Glossary), a competitor of *Lincrusta*\*, who in a letter to his father, in December 1889, suggested the company 'send out' catalogues to top architects and decorators throughout the United States. He estimates the need for some 23,000 'pattern' books for a population twice the size of the United Kingdom at

this time, and although it is not suggested that *Lincrusta*\* would have expected to run to even half of such a high number during their first 10 years, we must assume that as the primary form of publicity for the company, the numbers of catalogues dispersed through the agents of *Lincrusta*\* e.g. architects, and decorators, furnishing houses etc. would certainly have been quite substantial and very likely to have followed a similar path of dispersal as utilised by *Tynecastle Tapestry*.

On a visit to *The Whitworth Art Gallery* in Manchester, additional twentieth-century catalogues were found, although yet again, we find no examples of *Lincrusta*\* catalogues dating to the nineteenth-century. Of interest, was a white linen bound catalogue printed by Goddard, Walker and Brown (Est 1881) (Figures 10a & Figures 10b).



Figures 10a & Figures 10b – Catalogue of Special & other Designs in *Lincrusta-Walton* (Post 1907) with FEW Monogram from *The Whitworth Art Gallery*

The cover of the 1907 *Illustrated catalogue of Special & other Designs in Lincrusta-Walton For the interior Decoration of Railway Carriages, Ships, Cabins, Tramcars, & c.* appears to support a monogram with the initials F.E.W (Figures 10a & Figures 10b). The author suggests this may be the monogram of Frederick Edward Walton, however, this is currently unsubstantiated. Although, not entirely relevant to this study specifically, the volume of designs for the use on transportation, again illustrates an exemplified use of *Lincrusta*\* and a potential avenue for further research. Also, at The Whitworth, were several 20<sup>th</sup> century examples of *Lincrusta*\* catalogues and three examples of retailer catalogues that included minor reference to *Lincrusta*\* within their pages. (Discussed further in Section 3.5).

The most significant breakthrough came in the form of an on-line unillustrated reference to a *Lincrusta*\* catalogue, with a suggested date of 1880, within the special collections department at Eberly Family Special Collections Library, Penn State University Libraries in the United States (Figure 11), which does not appear to have been utilised within any other publication. Within the 37 pages of the 228mm x 330mm catalogue were designs Nos. 120 through to Nos. 160, although three designs were possibly missing, No's 141, 151 and 153. The author was informed by the holding institution that there were numerous loose pages and without page numbers, it is unknown if these designs were omitted from printing or were lost, however all three numbered designs were included within the Red 1898 catalogue. What was clear, was that most of the wall designs had not been given an application description e.g. Dado, Border, Frieze, filler etc., which, suggested the catalogue was an early run by the company who had not yet fully defined the range.

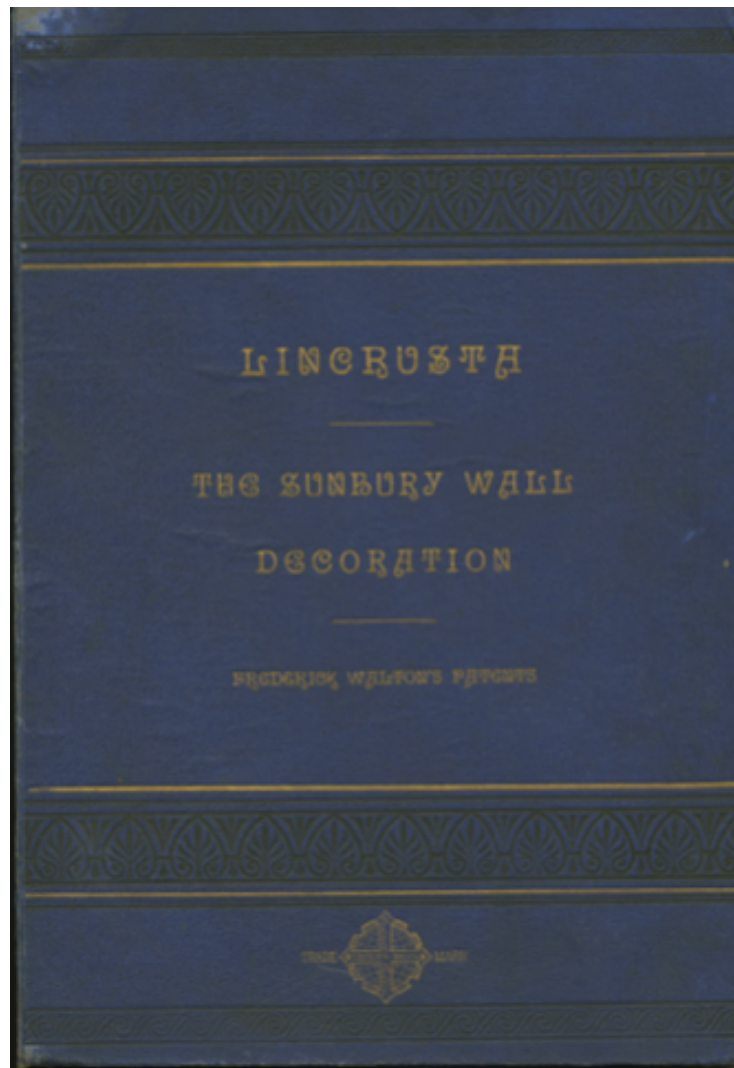


Figure 11 – Blue *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue with a suggested date of 1880 - Penn State University Library

We also find *Lincrusta*\* table Mats Nos. 200 through to 210 with no omissions (Figure 12). No. 203 is illustrated 7 times, illustrating sizes of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 3/4, and 10 inches, however each mat exemplifies a different design. This would appear to make ordering rather difficult and would suggest additional literature would have been included, which is no longer present. This supposition is further supported by a reference to a supplemental index within their catalogues found in *The Building News* on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1880, which discusses pricing and additional information was included in order to assist in selection 'so that in ordering it is merely necessary to specify the letter corresponding to the index...'. (*The Building News*, 1880, 672).



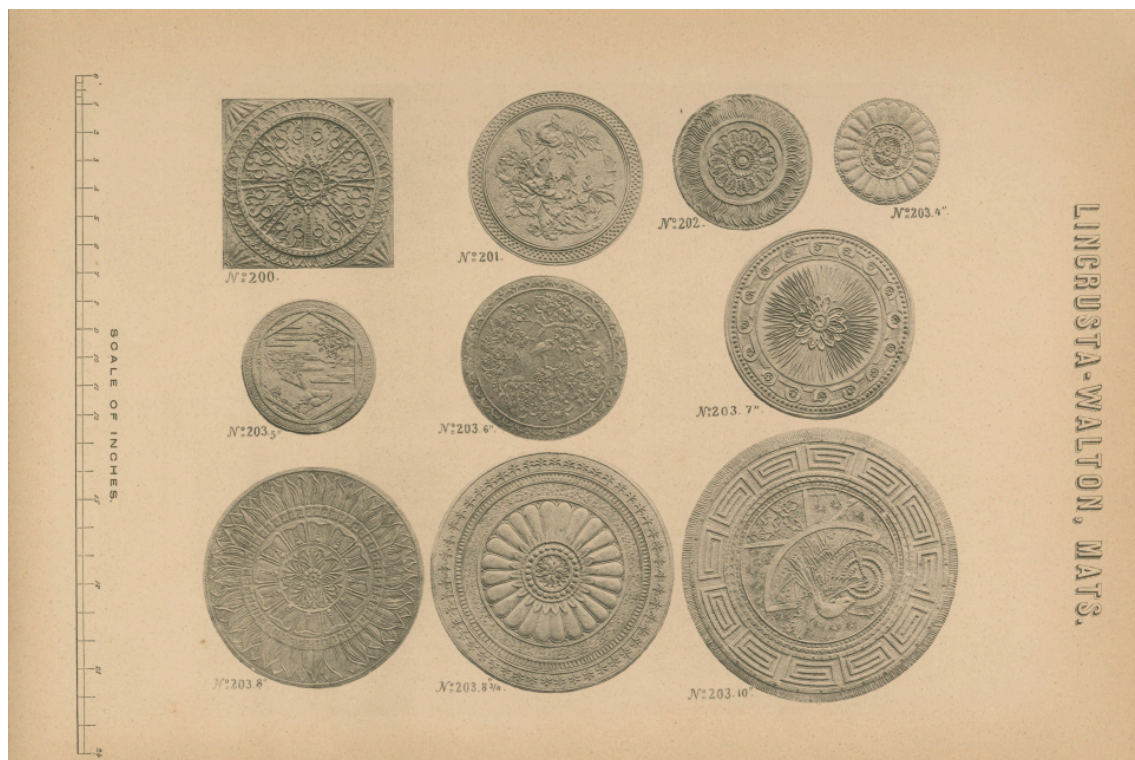


Figure 12 – Blue *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue table mats illustrating designs all numbered 203

Hand annotations in red ink within the catalogue (as seen in Figures 14a & Figures 14b), appear to suggest sizes and are in the same hand as an ownership signature of Wm (Sr?) Allen, 134 Wood Street, Pittsburgh, PA on the front free endpaper. The catalogue entered the collection in 1986, however further reference to the acquisition had not been entered and the Library held no additional information either on the catalogue or the previous owner.

This catalogue is extremely important to our understanding of the UK catalogues as they are earliest recorded illustrations of *Lincrusta*\* within a catalogue format and conclusively identify the earliest known design portfolio. In addition, it also answers the earlier question of catalogue numbering and we can clearly see from this example that the numbers run concurrently with the borders all numbered below one hundred. Friezes, dados, fillers and borders all numbered 100+. All the Mats are numbered 200+ and all the finger plates are numbered 300+ (Figure 13).

# LINCRUSTA-WALTON, FINGER PLATES.

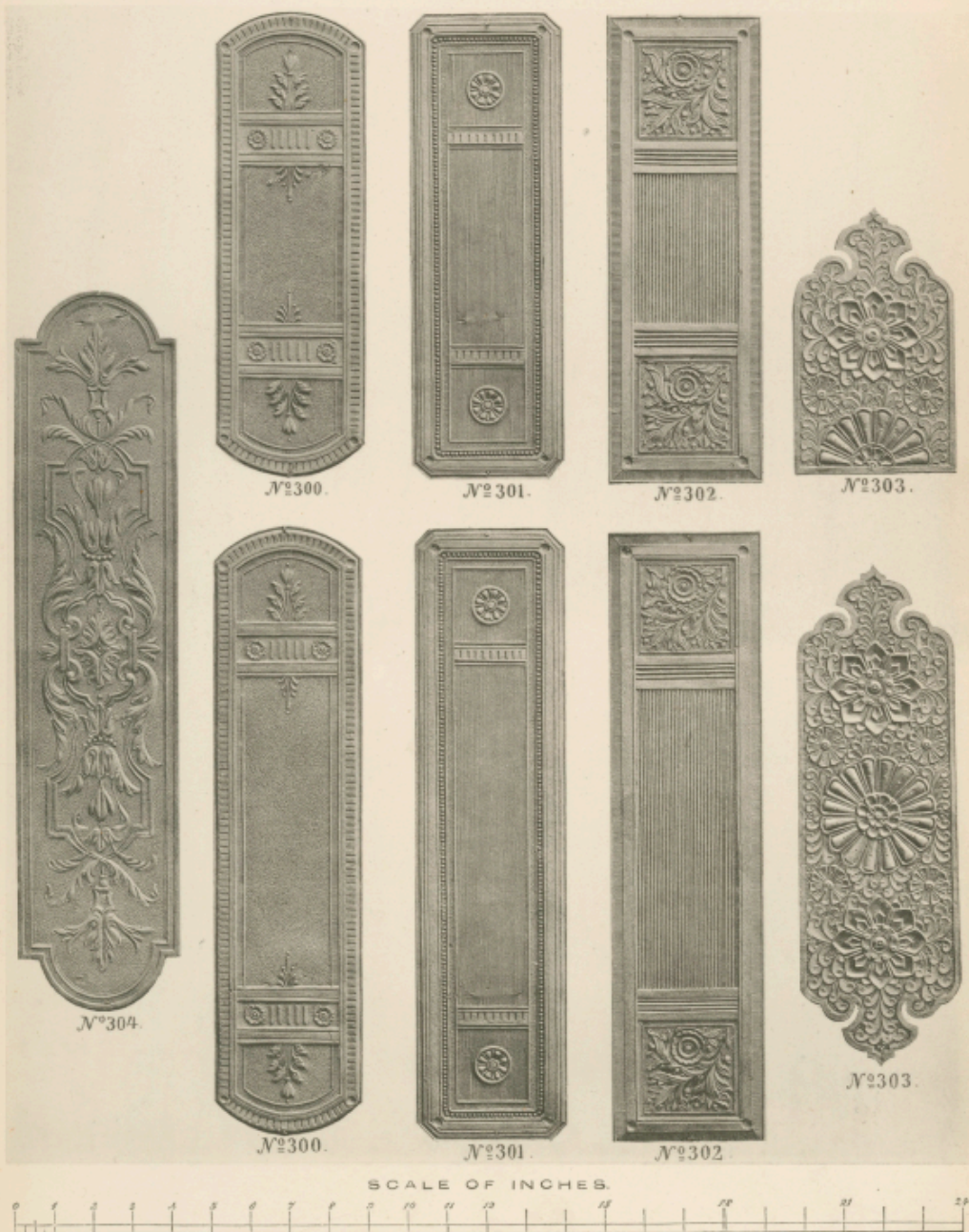
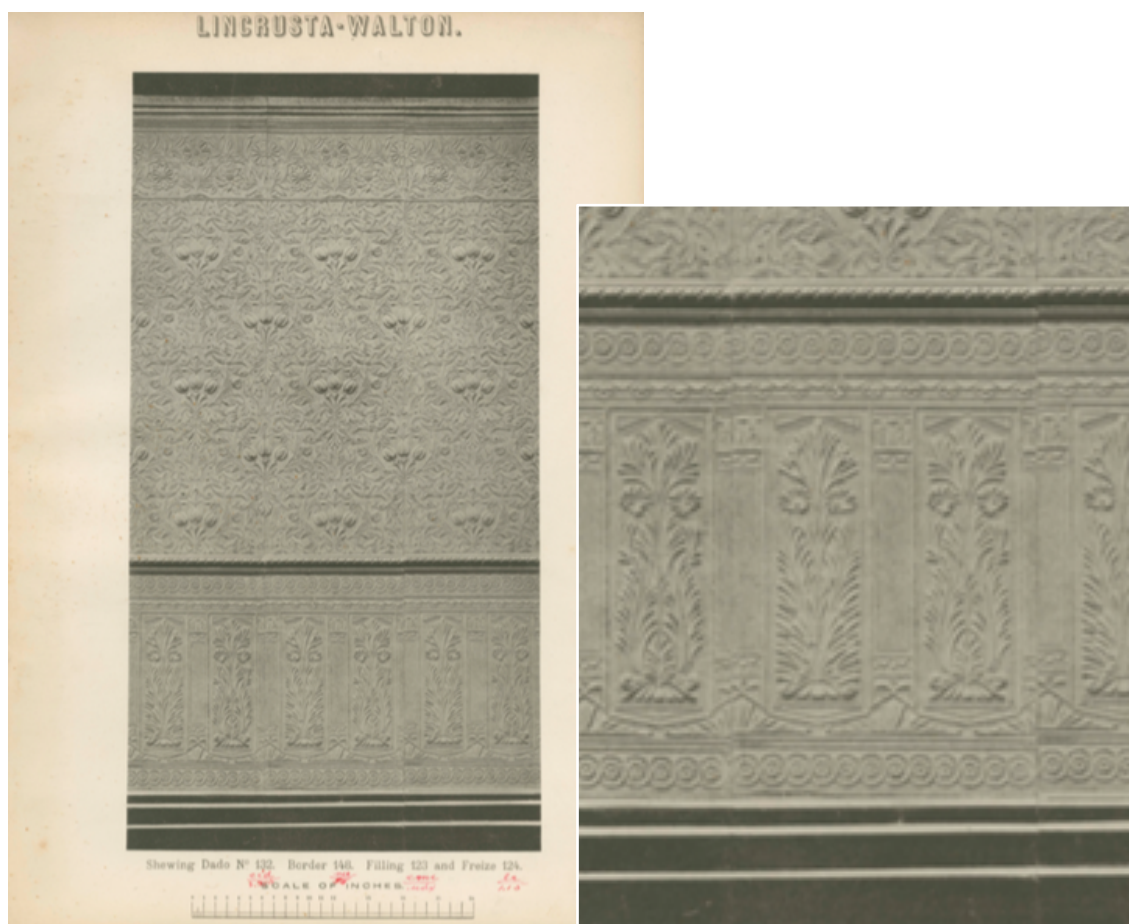


Figure 13 – Blue *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue finger plates showing replication of designs Nos. 300, 301, 302 and 303 (Penn State University Library 2017)



This would certainly allow us to confirm that early designs hold early numeral designation that runs concurrently and that additionally, we can deduce that originally the prefix would also have indicated the application description of border, dado etc.

The Blue 1880 catalogue illustrations appear to suggest it was of a significantly better quality than later catalogues and carries far fewer errors, although some pages are a little lopsided (See Figure 17). The final page includes a design that suggests poor workmanship by the 'hanger', as the sections are clearly misaligned. However, after scrutiny, small, irregular similarities suggest the original image was replicated three times to enlarge the image for the page. (Figures 14a & Figures 14b).



Figures 14a & Figures 14b – Blue catalogue final page showing misalignment of *Lincrusta*\* images within the printing. Early illustration of pattern design Nos. 132, 148, 123 and 124 (Penn State University Libraries 2017)

The catalogue date was suggested by the holding institution as 1880, however they do not substantiate the claim. It was unquestionably the earliest catalogue found during this study and clarification on the date would be an essential addition to the body of knowledge for *Lincrusta*\*. Certainly, it could not have been published before this date due to the *Lincrusta-Walton* identification badge in the lower quarter. This is currently unidentified, however does help to date the catalogue to before 1883 when the mark would have been superseded by an official, easily identifiable, *Trade Mark* attached by the *Patents and Trade Marks Act 1883*. The term *Lincrusta-Walton* was not seen in advertising in the UK market until September 1880 (See Section 3.5). The earliest reference in articles does not appear until the February of 1881. This continuing ambiguity regarding the company name is very much in evidence on the catalogue cover which is entitled *Lincrusta* without the *Walton* (See Figure 11) and *The Sunbury Wall Decoration*.

Initial research suggested the catalogue could be dated to 1881 or earlier as within the pages is design No. 128, exemplified by Sugden and Edmondson (1926) as from 1881 and corroborated as part of the decorative scheme for the residence of J.D. Rockefeller Snr. (See Figure 18 and discussed further in Sections 2.5) installed in 1881/1882 at 4, West 54th, New York. (Cooper-Hewitt, 2016).

However, an article from *The Building News* on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1880 reads:

‘a pattern-book lately brought out by the Lincrusta-Walton Company, in which will be found numerous examples of surface and dado decoration, which faithfully exhibit the delicate precision and beauty of low relief characteristic of the material’. (The Building News, 1880, 672).

The publication of a catalogue prior to the article, dated December 1880, enables the author to support the suggestion of a date of 1880. Additionally, this catalogue further suggests a time of change and evolution for Frederick Walton,

his company and inventions as we find the removal of *Frederick Walton Patents* from the advertising literature of *Linoleum* by 24<sup>th</sup> September 1879 (See Section 3.2) and *Lincrusta\** go from *Linoleum Muralis* through a name change to *Lincrusta* and finally emerge as *Lincrusta-Walton* by September 1880. However, the catalogue can be no later than September 1880 as this is the earliest reference within publicity defining the material consistently as *Lincrusta-Walton*.

This study has succeeded in creating an early understanding of *Lincrusta\** by recognising the significance of the Blue 1880 catalogue and establishing its year of printing. This has enabled the identification and establishment of the earliest design portfolio known to LINCRUSTA® and recognised that the designs were numerically designed, a discovery which will be pivotal in enabling future research on the designers, the date of the designs and their discontinuation or adaptation. Furthermore, its discovery suggests that there may have been a period of change for the company and/or Frederick Walton during the late 1870's that impacted on the company significantly enough for them to change their name repeatedly whilst still in early production. This may have been in order to address new markets which could be suggested by its discovery in an American institution, or in order to distance themselves from *Linoleum*, however no information was found on this early period of production that could answer these questions. Additionally, the identification of the French catalogue held at Crown Paints at Darwin along with other additional administrative data suggests there is the possibility of more information available at Crown Paints and other institutions, to include institutions and museums in France.

The significance of the later 1907 catalogue implies that *Lincrusta*\* were sufficiently confident of their railway markets at home and abroad to commission further catalogues purely for these applications which intimates further specialist catalogues may have been produced e.g. ships and steamers and confirm that catalogues of any date or nationality are pivotal to our continued understanding of *Lincrusta*\*.

## 2.4 Identifying Early Designs, Designers and Design Characteristics

Until this research was undertaken, the company *LINCRUSTA*<sup>®</sup> were unaware of their earliest designs and held little information on designers or their contribution to the design portfolio of *Lincrusta*<sup>\*</sup>.

Early written descriptions revealed vital evidence regarding *Lincrusta*'s<sup>\*</sup> early design portfolio. Without illustrative evidence, small clues were able to provide positive identification of early designs discussed in journal articles e.g. within Section 4.1 a description of a design for screens and panels of 'cupids holding wreaths of Flowers', referenced within the April 1880 publication of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (1875 - 1912) was found.

There are two designs within the later 1898 catalogue which could have been the described design however, my research identified that there was only one design available at that date; Design No. 141 from the Blue 1880 catalogue (Figure 15).

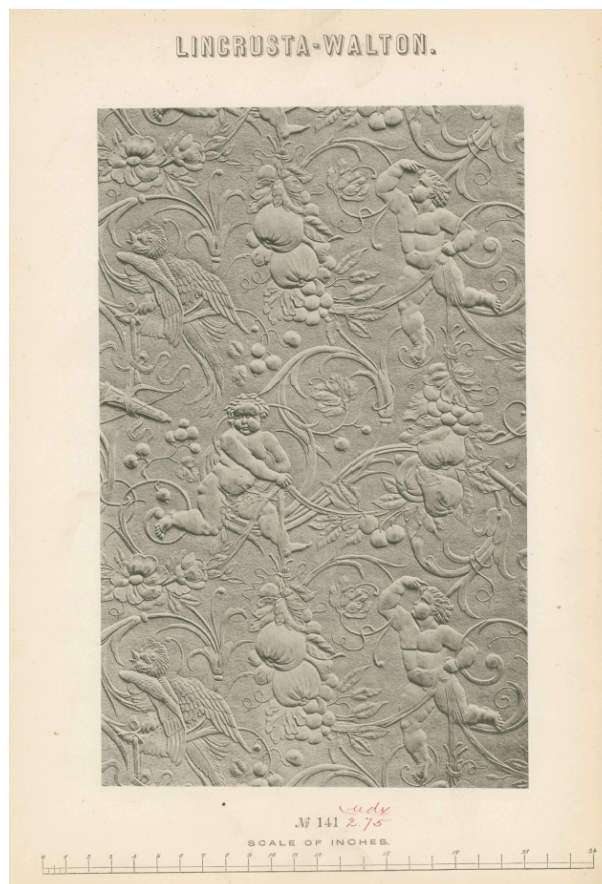


Figure 15 – Design No. 141 identified from written description found within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* April 1880

Valuable reference of the company's early designs was also found in an article within *The Building News* on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1880 (672), where early discussion regarding the material, its application and additional information on 15 *Lincrusta*\* designs were found. We are given a sense of critical assessment and appraisal by the article's author regarding selected designs, of which some are described as *Japanese*, although 'scarcely Japanese in spirit... they are admirable'. We also find reference to the four distinct colours from a 'dark and reddish chocolate to a harmonious neutral tint of warm tone' (*The Building News*, 1880, 672).

Extensive research of the documentary sources also highlighted further understanding from the perspective of the designer. A systematic search of early *Anaglypta* catalogues found they did not publish names of their designs within the catalogues, although they were in the habit of attributing each to a designer within the first pages of their catalogues. These included C.F. A. Voysey, Alfred C. Carpenter and other well-known artists and architects. The use of professional designers at this time was calculated in order 'to catch the attention of decorators and win prizes at the exhibitions and trade fairs' (Simpson, 1999a, 112).

It is worth noting here that at this time, Jeffrey & Company, the London wallpaper manufacturer, established in Islington, in 'around 1835' (Taylor, 1991, 15) was led by Metford Warner (1843 - 1930), who as director of the company from 1866, had set a precedent by pioneering the enlistment of well known, established artists and architects to design their wallpapers. Warner's recruitment of these designers proved to be good publicity for the company and their improvements to wallpaper design raised the status of the industry to such an extent, that it was admitted for the first time into the Fine Arts Exhibition at the Albert Hall in 1873,



and where the company displayed their wallpaper designs within frames normally associated with that of fine art. (Taylor, 1999, 15 - 16, Bolger, 1886, 444).

Simpson (1999a, 112) tells us that Walton, like Thomas J. Palmer of *Anaglypta* also employed the skills of well-known freelance designers such as George Haité, Christopher Dresser, Owen W. Davis and Arthur Silver, yet refrains from informing her reader that *Lincrusta*\* did not attribute their designs to a specific designer within their catalogues despite an acknowledged precedent that English companies employed 'eminent artists', as discussed in Bolger (1986, 77).

Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 252) list some of the 'many great designers' of *Lincrusta*\* and the companies later addition to their wallcovering portfolio *Cameoid* to include such names as: A. Carpenter, Adolphe Jonquet, Dr. Christopher Dresser, F. Hamilton-Jackson, George C. Haité, J.H. Lamb, Lewis F. Day, Owen W. Davis and R.W. Brooks (Sugden and Edmondson, 1926, 252). However, they do not discuss whether the designers worked with both companies, or individually and do not mention the name Arthur Silver as previously mentioned in Simpson (1999a, 112).

The reasoning behind Walton's lack of designer attribution continues to remain obscure. Walton may well have wanted to build the brand *Lincrusta*\*, or establish the material as an artistic medium, the attribution of an artist may have detracted from this, however it is also not unreasonable to suggest this was a deliberate act by a cautious Walton, who did not wish to share in the reputation, control and originality of his new invention in light of the split from *Linoleum*. A continuing anonymity of the designers responsible would help limit a subsequent approach by a competitor to replicate *Lincrusta*'s\* designs, which Bolger (1986, 77) suggests was commonplace with some American companies who 'aestheticise their products by imitating English designs'.

## 2.5 Dr Christopher Dresser

The exciting discovery of a design by the celebrated architect and designer, Dr Christopher Dresser (1834 -1904) was made within the Red 1898 catalogue. The design No. 130 was advertised on page 17 at 18 ½ inches wide and made in lengths of 12 yards to the piece at a cost of 2/- per yard (Figure 16).



Figure 16 - *Lincrusta-Walton* Design No. 130 from the Red *Lincrusta-Walton* catalogue 1898  
Cross reference with the Blue catalogue confirmed the date of the design to on or before 1880.



# LINCRUSTA-WALTON.



Nº 130 *note 2.50*

SCALE OF INCHES.

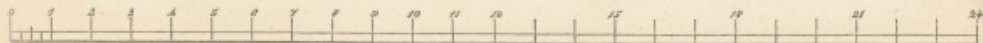


Figure 17 - Lincrusta-Walton Design No. 130 from the Blue Lincrusta-Walton catalogue 1880  
The attribution of this design to designer, owner and building is by the Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian National Design Museum who confirm the exemplar as a design by Dresser

Research highlighted its illustration (Figure 18) as the second within Michael Whiteway's publication, *Shock of the Old: Christopher Dresser's Design Revolution* (2004, 6).



Figure 18 - A fragment of painted and gilded *Lincrusta-Walton* installed in 1881/1882 at 4, West 54th, New York. Formerly part of the decorative scheme for the dining room, at the residence of John D. Rockefeller, an American oil magnate, considered the wealthiest American of all time (Cooper-Hewitt, 2016; Hoskins (ed.), 2005, 159; Whiteway (ed.), 2004, 6)

Whiteway et al, also discuss *Lincrusta*\* within the very first paragraph written to accompany the first American, comprehensive museum retrospective and travelling exhibition of the works of Dr Christopher Dresser, organised by the Cooper-Hewitt Museum between 1<sup>st</sup> March and 29<sup>th</sup> July 2004.



The extensive, illustrated survey seeks to define and illustrate, from the perspective of the 'first professional designer for industry... [and] one of the most influential figures of the 19th century as seen through 21st century eyes' (Whiteway et al, 2004, 22). Whiteway et al (2004, 6) tell us that Dresser was represented in a seminal show of *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts* at the Victoria and Albert museum in London in 1952, but as the organisers admitted, little of his work has been traced.

In discussing the relationship between Dr Christopher Dresser and William Morris (1834 - 96), Whiteway et al (2004, 22), tells us that Dresser and Morris not only shared a birthday but that they spent their careers pursuing the same aims. Both worked to improve domestic design, and to make their designs available to everyone. However, they differed in their approach whereby, Dresser:

'never lost sight of the demands of machine production and the modernity of materials employing new processes, [while] Morris favoured the likes of terracotta, Linoleum [and] Anaglypta... his mission... [was] to improve design in manufactures, but he did not expect the public to abandon...' ornaments. (2004, 22).

Whiteway et al inform us that the works of Dresser that have surfaced, are his most extreme and distinctive; that only a modest percentage of the hundreds of flat patterns of the textiles, wallpapers, carpets and Linoleums that formed the day-to-day business of his design studio have been identified. (2004, 32).

We also read of Dresser's *Art Furniture Alliance Company*, a short-lived company, based in London. Dresser's ideas on merchandising, which had been drawn from a number of previous business ventures, both Wholesale and retail, crystallise with the association of manufacturers, brought together to supply 'whatever is necessary to the complete artistic furnishing of a house'.

Dresser was the company Art Director and we find Frederick Walton listed as supplier of *Linoleum* (2004, 182). However, it must be noted that Whiteway et al, only mentions Frederick by name in this context and he is listed within the index as a 'Carpet Manufacturer'.

Nonetheless, Whiteway et al (2004, 72) validate the significance of Dresser's designs and confirm Dr Dresser did create designs for *Lincrusta*\* by citing various documented resources which were selected based on design attribution to include 'registered designs of the Public Record Office' in the US, although he stops short of discussing the designs, company, material, manufacture or marketing.

It is the first image within Whiteway et al (2004), an illustration on the first flyleaf, a paper design of a bird and flowers within a cartouche in red, white and gold (Figure 19a) that proved to be most extraordinary during the research of this thesis. The wallpaper, in shades of orange, mustard and brown is later found on page 114 (Whiteway, 2004) where it is described as a 'wallpaper frieze'. Printing along the selvedge displays *Dr. Dresser: INV.* and we learn that the frieze was donated to the Cooper-Hewitt by Wilmer Moore in 1941. The exemplar was one of a selection 'the Moore's purchased from an antique dealer in Pennsylvania' who in turn, had 'purchased them from a very old store'. The frieze had been used to decorate the office of William M. Singerley of the Philadelphia Record building (built in 1880).

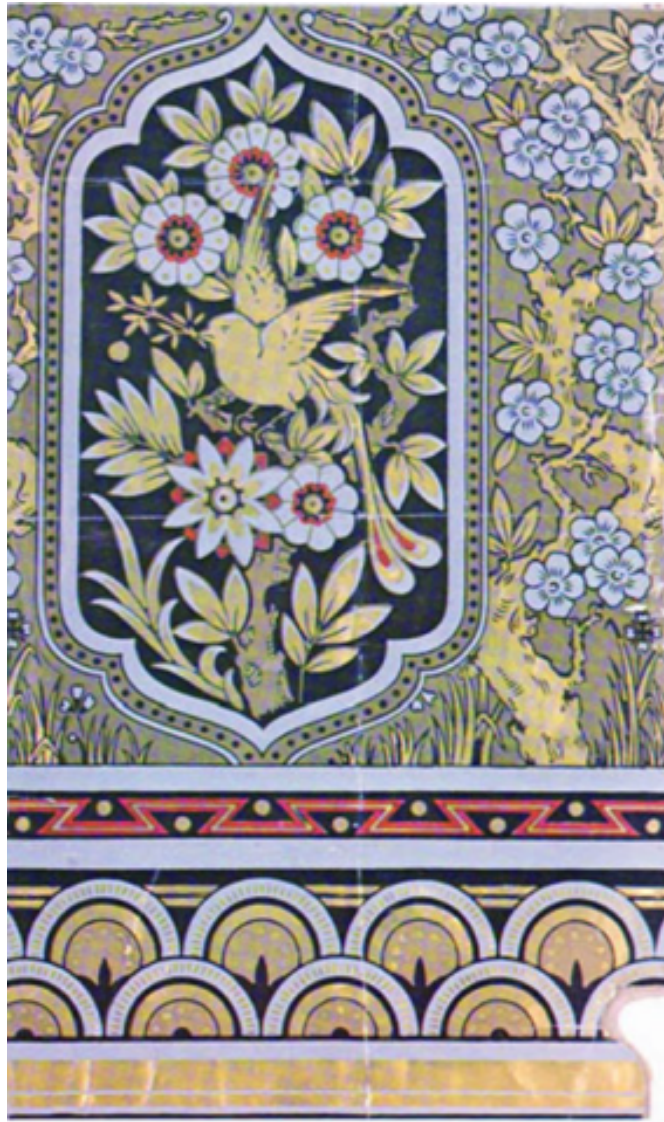


Figure 19a – Dr Christopher Dresser paper frieze identified as circa 1880 (Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum - 2004. 1941-17-1)



Figure 19b – Dr Christopher Dresser design in *Lincrusta-Walton* No. 129. Dated to 1880 and found within the Blue *Lincrusta*\* catalogue



Figure 20 – Combination of Dr Dresser Designs No. 129 (3), No. 130 (2) and unattributed design No. 155 (1) illustrated in the March 1884 edition of *The Journal of Decorative Art* (Lewis & Hatfield, 2017)



Whiteway et al, go on to write that, 'This wallpaper is shown in combination with the *Lincrusta*\* filling made by 'Frank' Walton' in the March edition of *The Journal of Decorative Art* (1884, 476 - The Official publication of the National Association of Master House Painters of England and Wales, published monthly in England between 1881 and 1949). This typing error is unfortunate however, the authors research of Whiteway's illustration highlighted the design as a paper frieze that was also made in *Lincrusta*\* and illustrated within the blue 1880 (Figure 19a) and red 1889 catalogues. The design is No. 129 and is described within the catalogue as a 'dado' not a frieze. It is advertised at 19 ½ inches high and made in lengths of 12 yards to the 'piece' with width cut 'as required' at 2/6 per yard. The discovery of this design reproduced in *Lincrusta*\* represents a significant discovery for LINCRUSTA®. Reference by Whiteway to the March edition of the 1884 *The Journal of Decorative Art* clearly illustrates the design (Figure 20). However, it has been incorrectly identified as an American paper design and held as such within the circles of Dresser scholars and enthusiasts despite not appearing within the 1894 catalogue of the American company of Fr. Beck & Co. It does not appear to have been recognised as a *Lincrusta*\* dado design, which the company can now add to their design portfolio. Additionally, the unattributed Frieze (1) can be identified as No. 155 at 11 ¾ inches wide it was available at 12 yards to the piece at 1/3 per yard (Figure 19a, 18b & Figure 20).

An additional design highlighted during research is that of design No. 121, found within the Blue 1880 and Red 1898 catalogues (Figure 21). Detailed information from the Red 1898 catalogue specify the design as 18 ½ inches wide and made in 12 yards to the piece. It sold at 1/6 per yard.



Figure 21 – Design No. 121 by Dr Christopher Dresser 1878 Paris Exhibition (Morley, 2012)

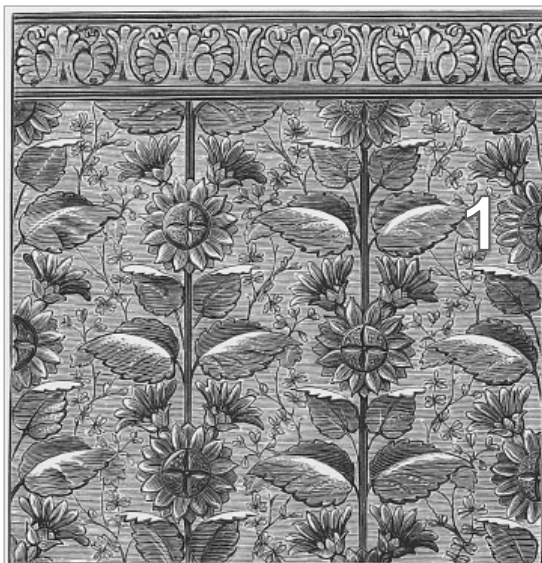
The pattern is an original Linoleum Muralis design (Morley 2012), that was first exhibited during the 1878 Paris International Exhibition XII and which shows remarkably similar design elements used within Figure 22 (4), an illustration from the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition XII 1879* and exemplifies some or all of the unattributed designs submitted by Walton to the 1878 Paris exhibition. We do know that Dresser exhibited at the same exhibition, which is further supported by Halén (1990) who quotes a reference later published within *Landscape Designs - British and Colonial Manufacturer, Supplement 3, January 1885* by Dresser, who confirms his designs were at the 1878 Paris exhibition, although not to specific designs. He recalled that:



‘Eleven manufacturers, engaged in eleven different branches of manufacture, showed objects of my designs at the last Paris Exhibition, and ten of these got gold medals, and the other silver’.

An ingenious artist, Mr. FREDERICK WALTON, to whom Art and Art industry are equally indebted, supplies us with

it; but that is a duty we may postpone, as it requires space. Suffice it to say that its advantages are many and great, securing



materials for the four engravings given on this page. They are of a material which he calls “Muralis, or the Sunbury Wall

elegance and grace, as well as warmth and comfort, in any apartment where it may be adopted. The designs are for the



Decoration.” It is, in fact, the application to walls of that which has made its way to general use, the floor linoleum that bears his name. There is much difficulty in describing

most part, as they ought to be, simple; but they are of much Art excellence, as they may be expected to be from the mind and hand of the esteemed and excellent artist who produces them.

Figure 22 – *Illustrated catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition XII 1879*. Illustrating four designs all possibly by Dr Christopher Dresser. Artistic credit was given to Frederick Walton.

It is suggested that with additional research, conclusive evidence may fully attribute these designs to Dr Dresser on behalf of *Lincrusta*\* and further illuminate the frequent reference within company publicity to the Gold medals the company won during these early years.

Furthermore, design elements employed by Dr Dresser have been recognised by the author within the nineteenth-century catalogues, further research may enable successful attribution which has not been addressed within this course of this study, however illustrates further the significance of the brand within the historic context of nineteenth-century wallcovering manufacture and highlights an important avenue for additional future research.

Additionally, whilst completing the course of this research the author was also able to highlight designs by Lewis Foreman Day, a British decorative artist and industrial designer and an important figure in the Arts and Crafts movement. The similar design, although not identical, was published in *The Journal of Decorative Art* 6 in 1886 (894) and illustrated within Hansen's *Lewis F Day (1845-1910) Unity in Design and Industry* (2017, 139) is illustrated on page 36 of the Red 1898 catalogue (Figure 23). The frieze design, No. 298 has a width of 19", was produced in lengths of 12 yards to the piece and sold at 3/- a yard. It would also appear that either the catalogue or *The Journal of Decorative Art* illustration was inserted in the reverse (Figure 24).



Figure 23 – *Lincrusta-Walton* Frieze No. 298 dated to 1886 and illustrated within the Red catalogue of 1898 and designed by Lewis Foreman Day (Authors own image 2017)





Figure 24 – Lewis Foreman Day design for *Lincrusta-Walton* No. 298 illustrated within *The Journal of Decorative Art* 1886. (Hansen 2007, 139)

Furthermore, an additional design, from within the same *Journal of Decorative Art* of design No. 829 *Feather-leaf* (Figure 25), illustrated within Hansen (2007, 141), and dated to 1896, and further illustrated by Hanson (2007, 192) highlights the design as manufactured as ‘an embossed tile of low relief’ but does not expand on its manufacture or material. This additional designer highlights a further avenue of research, which due to time restraints was beyond the scope of this study.

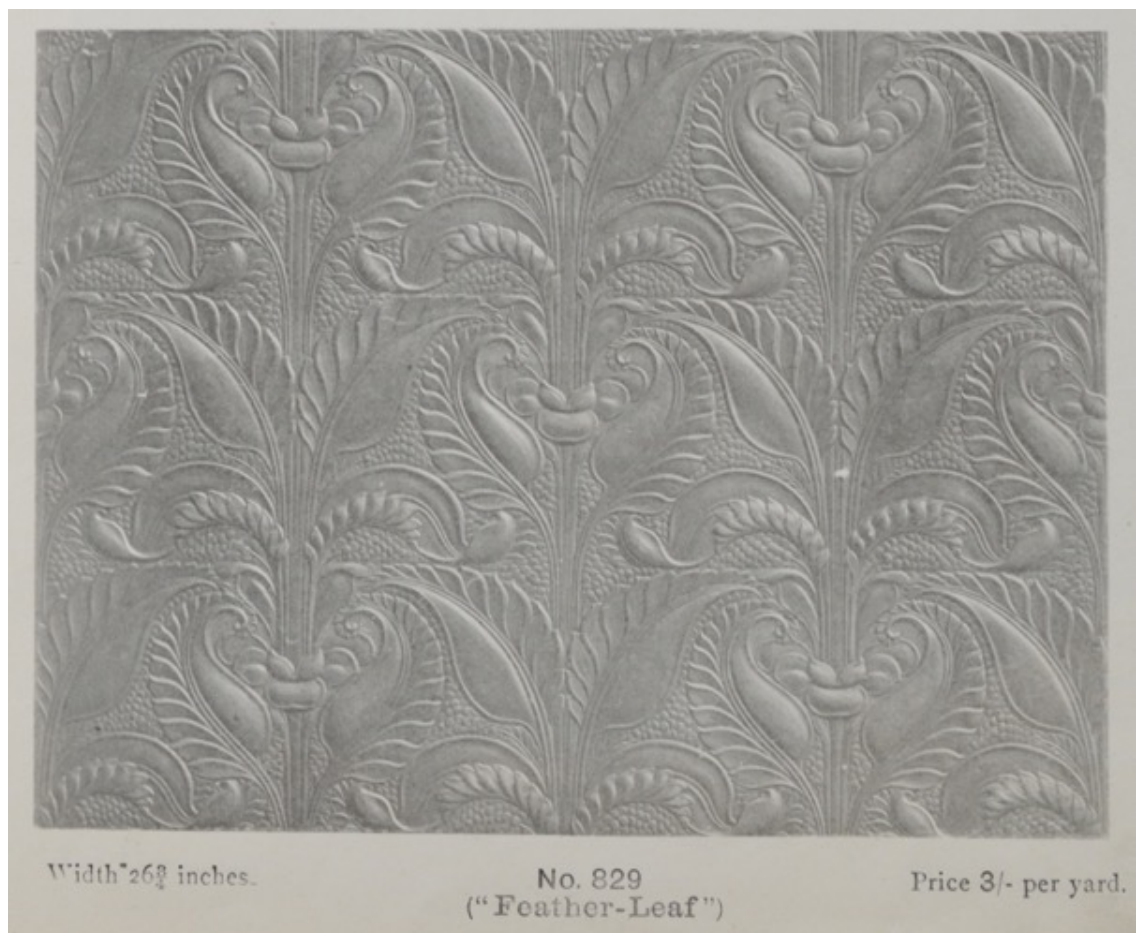


Figure 25 – *Lincrusta-Walton* Frieze designed by Lewis Foreman Day 1896

## 2.6 Review of Secondary Reference Material

Pamela H Simpson's (1999a) *Cheap, Quick and Easy - Imitative Architectural Materials 1870 - 1930* published in the United States in 1999, and re-printed in 2016, is one of the few recent studies to discuss *Lincrusta*\*. Writing in greater depth than is found in any other literary contribution, Simpson devotes a significant portion of her fifth chapter *Good Impressions: Embossed Wall and Ceiling Coverings* to *Lincrusta*\*, referring to *material* as 'The first and most important of the Victorian wall and ceiling coverings' (1999a, 102) and that, with the addition of other raised relief materials, were 'better than the materials they replaced.' (1999a, 116).

However, Simpson causes quite a lot of confusion within her text. For example, she refers to *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company* as the 'British Linoleum Manufacturing Company'. This may well be to differentiate the two companies, albeit unnecessarily, as the US company was called the *American Linoleum Manufacturing Company*.

In addition, Simpson (1999a,104) informs us that Frederick Walton, upon parting from the company in 1877, created a new firm, *Frederick Walton and Company*, however, I have established that he was operating under *Frederick Walton and Company* some ten years earlier, as evidenced by his letter to *The Times* on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1867. (Walton, 1862a). Simpson continues to give inaccurate information and imprecise details to include the material ingredients which have been repeatedly published by third parties and important institutions to include the Cooper-Hewitt, as discussed in the previous chapter.

*Lincrusta*\* is also discussed within *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpaper* edited by Lesley Hoskins and published in 2004 (156 – 157). There is brief attention given to *Lincrusta*\*. The index suggests *Lincrusta*\* is referred to on nine pages, however, three pages give only passing reference, while another four make no direct use of the word *Lincrusta*\* at all. Focus is from twentieth-century ‘embossed wall-coverings’ and predominantly from an American perspective. Nineteenth-century *Lincrusta*\* in England is discussed in an earlier chapter, and it is satisfying to read of the contemporary opinion of the ‘almost perfect’ artistic design of *Lincrusta*\* of which:

‘many examples sold in the 1880’s and 1890’s are still giving good service in Europe and elsewhere’ (2004, 157);

although this was not expanded upon with specific reference or example. Moreover, designers are discussed but not exemplified, the earlier mentioned Cooper-Hewitt example (Figure 18) being illustrated but neither attributed nor dated.

The earliest commentary found is Sugden and Edmondson’s; *A History of English Wallpaper, 1509 - 1914* (1926, 435 - 455), where they restrict their discussion to a few paragraphs within a single chapter that encompasses both raised relief and embossed detailing on wall papers to include *Lincrusta*\* and other raised relief wall-coverings such as *Anaglypta*, *Calcorian* (See Glossary) and *Salamander* (See Glossary) etc. In the same publication, Frank H. Palmer, who at one time was the Manager of the WPM, presents a brief introduction to the history of raised relief and the materials represented by wall-coverings, and we learn that *Lincrusta*\* and the raised relief wallpapers were designed to emulate:

‘...Stucco work, timber work, both carved and panelled, and embossed leather decorations... in addition to imitating ...tapestry and silk damask effects...’ (1926, 245).



Sugden and Edmondson go on to discuss decorative raised materials chronologically; leading with *Tynecastle Tapestry* (1926, 249) before moving on to discuss *Lincrusta*\*, which is exemplified as ‘an idea of exceptional fertility’, utilised extensively ‘in ships. yachts, railway carriages, tramcars and motor cars’. They also discuss its use for ‘shop-fronts and facia... being particularly adaptable for exterior decoration’ inclusive of a caveat that reads... ‘if well painted or varnished after fixing.’ It is an interesting adaptation however, Simpson (1999a, 105), states the claim had disappeared from early advertising literature by the 1890’s.

Discussion on *Lincrusta*\* is brief before Sugden and Edmondson move on after three paragraphs, to discuss the men and the competing wallpapers invented by Frederick Walton’s employees; Walton’s manager at Sunbury, D.M. Sutherland, who invented *Cameoid*, which was launched in 1888, while the inventor of *Anaglypta*, launched at the Silver Jubilee Exhibition in Manchester in 1887 was T.J. Palmer, the London showroom manager. *Anaglypta* commands a further three paragraphs in their later discussion. (1926, 253 - 254).

Additional secondary sources that briefly discuss *Lincrusta*\*, tend to focus on other aspects. For example, Charles Oman, in *Wallpapers: An International History and Illustrated Survey* written in 1929 (1982, 65), make three passing references, suggesting *Lincrusta*\* was one of several companies producing raised or embossed patterns, whilst noting that both Charles. F. A. Voysey and Alfred C. Carpenter created designs for *Lincrusta*\* during the twentieth-century. Gill Saunders in *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (2002, 124 - 125) discusses *Lincrusta*\* briefly within her chapter dedicated to Embossed Wall Coverings, where reference is made, although neither illustrated or attributed, to the earlier example from the Cooper-Hewitt (Figure 18), as well as to refer to, but again not

illustrate, nor reveal further details regarding the location, architect or designs of the *Lincrusta*\* decoration of a log cabin in Leadville, Colorado, owned by a wealthy mine owner and used as a hunting lodge/poker club.

In addition, Saunders (2002, 124 -125) discusses *Tripartite* decorative schemes, commonly illustrated within the *Lincrusta*\* catalogues, also known as the crown design, whereby internal walls are divided into dado, filling and frieze, popularised by Owen Jones in the 1856 publication *The Grammar of Ornament*, and which Dresser continued to advocate in 1873, within his *Principles of Decorative Design* (Bolger, 1986. 76). Saunders illustrates its use with *Lincrusta*\* in a chromolithograph () from *The Journal of Decorative Art* in March 1884. However, Saunders again, does not go so far as to identify the designs used.

The author's own research of the 1898 catalogue has added to this information by identifying the designs and can confirm that design 1, is a Dado, No. 132. Details within the catalogue describe the design as 22 3/8 inches wide and retailing at 2/- shillings per yard.

It was also available as an individual panel No. 405. Design 4 is a frieze (see Glossary) identified as No. 128 and described as 23 inches high and costing 2/- per yard and made in 12 yards to the piece (Costings are discussed in greater detail in Section 4.1). It is the first visible design within the catalogue as the very first design has been cut away. Design 2 is a border design No. 125 identified from the catalogue and described as 3 inches wide and retailing at 6/9 per 12 yards. It shares design elements with a Filling No. 123 but in this instance, has been paired with Filling design 3, which currently remains unidentified.

Saunders (2002, 124) further informs her reader that, 'the most popular and commercially successful' of all the 'embossed wall coverings' was *Lincrusta*\*, due to its washable, waterproof characteristics, however, she refrains from referring to the material at all, within the chapter entitled *Health and Cleanliness*.

On the same subject, Hoskins et al (2005, 156) discuss *Lincrusta*\* as ‘unrivalled in terms of its hygienic properties’ although not categorised as a ‘sanitary’ wall-covering yet does not go so far as to explain why. Sanitary wallpapers were paper wallcoverings that were varnished in order to make them washable and give them greater protection against the absorption of dirt, soot and grease. We also find reference within both Saunders (2002, 125) and Hoskins et al (2015, 157) to celebrated Art-Nouveau architect, Hector Guimard (1867 – 1942) famous for his elaborate Métro entrances in Paris. Guimard designed some very striking panels for the Castel Béranger opened in 1898, which is illustrated within Simpson (1999a, 108 – 109) with a similar image illustrated in Figure 26.

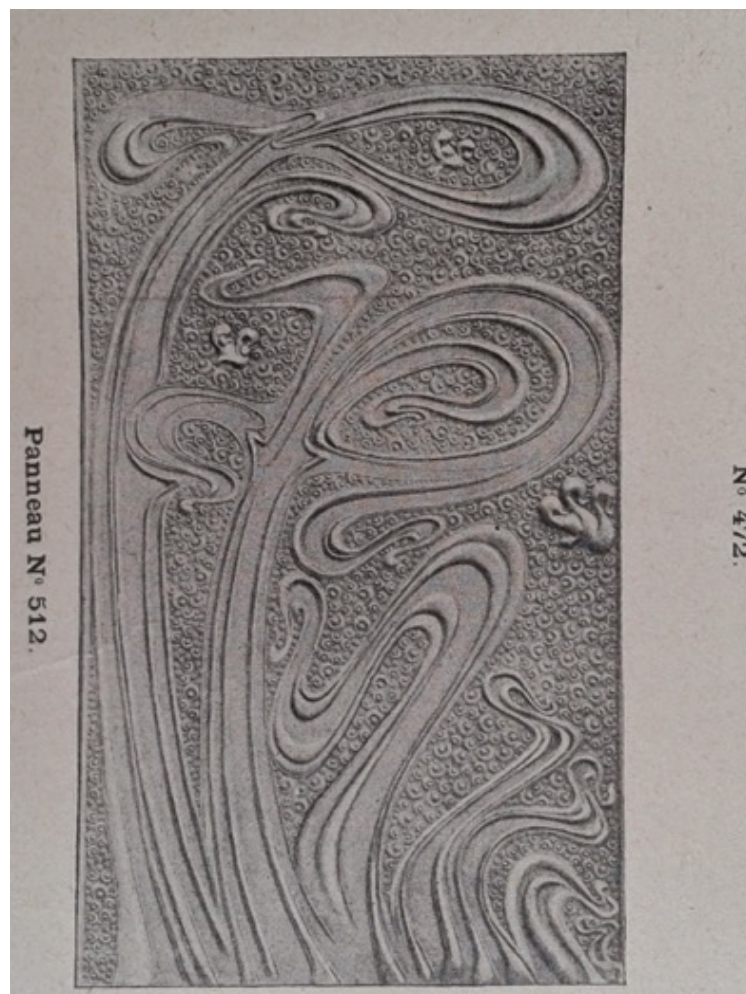


Figure 26 – A design by celebrated Art-Nouveau architect, Hector Guimard used within the Castel Beranger, Paris (1894 – 1898). (Lutecien, 2018)

However, Saunders does not point out that Guimard's association was with the French company owned by Joseph Musnier who had purchased the patents to replicate *Lincrusta*\* in 1880, and it was this company, manufacturing at Pierrefitte near Paris between 1880 -1860, that worked with Guimard (Bigot, 2015).

*Lincrusta*\* discussed in Biographies can also be found on occasion. Compton Mackenzie, author and co-founder of the Scottish National Party, later Sir Compton Mackenzie (1883 - 1972), writes in his biography *My Life and Times*, *Octave 1* (1963, 232) cited within Flanders (2006, 180) of 'the 1890's craze when his mother redecorated, covering the drawing-room walls "with a wiggle-waggle of flesh-coloured *Lincrusta*\* moulding" which appeared rich and beautiful to us.' Additionally, a quote within Saunders (2002, 124) is also found within E.A. Entwisle's *A Literary History of Wallpaper* (1960, 128), which refers to 'A retrospective description of Oscar Wilde's Smoking Room at his house on Tite Street in Chelsea, London. Taken from the Diary of Vyvyan Holland, the son of Oscar Wilde and written in 1954, he describes his father's smoking room in 1891:

'The walls were covered with the peculiar wallpaper of that period known as Lincrusta-Walton and had a William Morris pattern of dark red and dull gold. When you poked it with your finger, it popped and split, and your finger might even go through it...'

Although quoted by both Saunders and Entwisle, they neglect to recognise the problem with Hollands description, since *Lincrusta*\* is incapable of being 'popped' nor can a finger 'go through' unless a void is beneath, and significant pressure applied. Therefore, it is highly likely that Holland refers to another embossed or relief decoration.

The survey of secondary literature determines there are very few academic publications which discuss *Lincrusta*\*. Many are limited to brief summaries, almost all fail to acknowledge the earlier name of *Linoleum Muralis*, neither do they identify *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* as the same material. This would

suggest that the distinction may not be recognised. In addition, any in-depth discussion and illustration of *Lincrusta*\* within the texts do not go so far as to discuss the aesthetics or success of the designs, designers or use by the consumer in any detail.

Focus, in most cases, is directed toward the material ingredients with several perpetuating the inaccuracies found within Simpson. Many discuss only from the twentieth-century perspective of its imitation of wood panelling, leather, textiles or wall tiles etc., or of its sanitary and hygienic properties. Additionally, comparison is almost always made to products placed within the similar framework of raised relief wallpapers, with little definition of *Lincrusta*\* as a wall covering made from a unique and hygienic material or, discuss its significance and impact on the market when first invented and launched.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The following chapter focuses on the advertising strategy utilised by Lincrusta\* during their first 10 years. This chapter will again draw on the theories and methodologies utilised within the study of material culture in that the advertisements can be utilised as a significant source of primary data illustrating the commercial, promotional, social and economic contributions to contemporary literature, which in turn enables our perception of our culture and society viewed from another age, another perspective.

The methodological approach utilised in this chapter focuses on the work of Robert Gordon (Lubar and Kingery, 1993, 74 - 93), who addresses the issues involved in the interpretation of objects in order to build a history of technology by highlighting that the most significant results are gained from contextual interpretation of the links that exist between the material and those who use it, and those indirect participants, the observers, which offers an insight into a societies taste in the objects it surrounds itself with.

The analysis of the advertising patterns utilised by Lincrusta\* wholesalers enable us to establish a picture of everyday society and the class culture at the time. Illustrating how taste was communicated through advertising, self-expression and fashion. Additionally, Prown (1982, 6) tells us that 'cultural expression is less self-conscious, and therefore potentially more truthful' when illustrating a society's production especially, the mass-produced utilitarian product from which we can describe wallcoverings. This offers up a reflection of the designer and ultimately the producer from within the confines of the society into which they were conceived. Indications that illustrate the maker's intent which, in turn contributes further to our understanding and knowledge of Lincrusta\*.

### 3.1 Marketing Material

Frederick Walton himself, when defending his sole right to the use of the *Linoleum* name in the January 1878 court case of *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company of Frederick Walton versus Messrs Nairn & Co.*, highlighted an initial and appropriate avenue of investigation into *Lincrusta*\* by claiming to have spent £10,000 on advertising *Linoleum* (Walton, 1925, 32; Simpson, 1999a, 85). Indeed, Simpson (1999a, 92) comments that Walton's efforts in the early 1870's were 'a unique and isolated example of a floorcloth company presenting its product directly to the public'. In his book *The Infancy and Development of Linoleum Floorcloth* (1925, 32), Walton speaks of 'having great faith in advertising' and reviews his endeavours with *Messrs. W.H. Smith & Son* to construct large, six-foot-long enamelled iron plates and 'to have on it in big letters the words '*Linoleum*, warm, soft and durable'. The advertisements were:

'fixed to all the London railway stations in the best positions to catch the eye of the public... [and although it] did not meet our anticipation... it prepared the way for future success'.

This instance suggests the possibility that Walton would again choose to promote his new creation *Linoleum Muralis* utilising a similar method, and we can learn a lot from drawing upon similarities in his companies advertising strategies.

Walton further expands upon his retailing strategy by discussing the:

'large number of [explanatory] leaflets printed containing a full account of the soft, warm, durable and hygienic *Linoleum*'.

These leaflets were distributed by 'shopmen' in the newly opened store at Newgate Street, London and which:

'proved a great success... the trade awoke to the fact that the public wanted *Linoleum*...' (Walton, 1925, 34).

Additionally, Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 251) also refer to *Lincrusta*\* promotion:

‘early circulars which heralded the new decoration [,] all the enthusiasm was displayed that marks the mental attitude of most inventors to their creations, which however, is so often destined to disappoint and disillusion. In this case Frederick Walton escaped the common experience, for “Lincrusta-Walton,” originally manufactured at Sunbury-on-Thames, though it has since been followed by many competitors, has successfully held its ground in its own particular field’.

Regrettably, the authors did not include greater detail regarding the audience, format, content or illustration of these circulars, which appear to suggest first-hand dialogue from Frederick Walton himself is printed within the pages.

Evidence within Simpson (1999a, 104-105) may have confirmed the existence and location of additional direct advertising to the public by referring to an 1880 pamphlet that wrote of *Lincrusta*\* as:

‘warm and comfortable... would not warp or be eaten by worms... was not cold in winter or hot in summer like stone or terracotta... did not absorb moisture and gave it out like brick and plate [and] was impenetrable and resistant to wet’.

However, her reference to this pamphlet is made somewhat obscurely and the reference listing indicates it refers not to a pamphlet but to a work by ‘Colman. “Frederick Walton, Inventor”, 299’ which could not be found although a later article, written in 1934 for the *Chemical Engineering News* by William B. Coleman, celebrating Frederick Walton and the centenary year of his birth was found, it made no reference to the pamphlet.

Additional information was sourced from online sources such as The British Library Newspaper Archives, libraries, collections and a visit to Crown Paints, Darwen, the current holder of the Wall Paper Manufacturers archive. Systematic and time-consuming exploration, copying and photographing of these additional documents proved enormously successful in generating multiple documents that



held a significant amount of promotional and relevant material to the first ten years; to include in excess of fifty different advertisements and fifteen different articles, two additional catalogues, one book, one pamphlet and dozens of small inserts within periodicals, newspapers and journals from both the UK and USA market that discussed and illustrated *Lincrusta*\*, to include a letter from Walton written in *The Times* and over a dozen illustrations of original *Lincrusta*\* designs. All were able to reveal information about their distributors and customers, whilst supporting an understanding of the product, its marketing and public awareness during the late nineteenth-century.

Periodicals provide a valuable source of information. Scrutiny can often reveal what contemporary readers were aware of. Newspaper sales generally generate very little income and most publications rely heavily upon advertising revenues for support. However, it is necessary to use caution when approaching these materials as newspapers and other publications are not neutral conduits of information as they can express bias on the part of the owner, author, editor or publicist which may have influenced the opinions they express. Dobson et al (2009, 192) inform their readers that:

‘Rather than simply report a reality... newspapers filter, frame and report... in a manner supportive of established power structures under whose authority they function...’

However, these publications offer up an understanding of their readership that reveals information on the focus and socio-economic class of the reader.

Dobson et al (2009, 198-199) argue that:

‘Victorian publications were also disseminators of ideas, bulwarks of values, normative gatekeepers, and social barometers... its product is a readership of relatively privileged, educated professionals in decision-making positions within society... sold to a market: advertisers (largely other businesses), who pay for the opportunity to attract those privileged readers to buying or investing in their products or services... The obvious assumption is that the media content... will reflect the values, priorities and interests of the buyers, the sellers, the product and the professionals that serve them’.

When assessing periodicals, a number of features can influence its historical evaluation; the nature of the publication and the prominence within that publication, the vocabulary utilised, the writer’s tone and manner, the size of the article, layout and typeset and the use of imagery all provide valuable clues. Assessing the intent of the publicist enables an understanding of the anticipated response from the reader, whilst also offering up evidence of the geographic location, distribution, marketing expectation and local competition.

It was therefore important to compare articles and advertisements from different dates and sources, in order to assess whether there was a standard insertion or if authors are quoting from company propaganda or interested third parties, and to gauge whether there was a consistent marketing campaign or a one-off publication.

### 3.2 The Linoleum Manufacturing Company

In order to recognise consistencies within the promotional strategies for early *Lincrusta*\*, publicity examples for *Lincrusta*\* and *Linoleum* were sourced through the British Library Newspaper archive. This extensive collection, although not fully inclusive of all nineteenth century newspaper titles, does indicate a pattern of national publication and promotion, which was utilised for comparative purposes. This assessment was undertaken in order to examine whether *Lincrusta*\* utilised the same publicity strategies, publicity agents, wholesalers and retailers as *Linoleum* or did they use a different strategy and agency? Were suppliers exclusive to either *Lincrusta*\* or *Linoleum* or did agents publicise their sale of both products? Can we recognise a sales strategy that illustrates a continuity from one product to the other perhaps through management personnel or can we see a separation?

The earliest publicity for *Linoleum* was found in *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* newspaper published on Saturday 12th November 1864 (Issue 3150, 1), a simple box advert on behalf of an agent, *J. Jones and Son* of Sheffield (Figure 27).

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# THE PATENT LINOLEUM FLOOR CLOTH.

## THE LINOLEUM FLOOR CLOTH

Is very superior to any kind of Kamptulicon, possessing the great advantage of a *waterproofed canvas back*, which enables it to be rolled up for cleaning purposes almost as easily as a carpet, and can be washed without injury.

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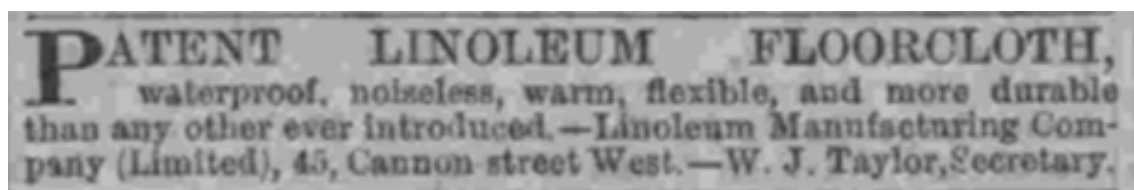
AGENTS FOR SHEFFIELD:  
J. JONES AND SON,  
72, MARKET PLACE.

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Figure 27 – The first advertisement of Linoleum by J. Jones and Son. *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* Saturday, 12 November 1864 (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

There is little fanfare, neither does it include the name of Frederick Walton or the company names of either *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company (Limited)* or *The Staines Linoleum Company*.

*Linoleum* begin to promote themselves from 13th January 1865, advertising in London within the pages of *The Standard* (Issue 12615, 1). They continue to run, unaltered, until Wednesday, 31st August 1865 (Issue 12812, 1), when they first list themselves as *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company (Limited)* with W. J. (William John) Taylor, Secretary, the name behind the brand (Figure 28). *The Standard*, 13 January 1865 (British Library Newspapers, 2017).



PATENT LINOLEUM FLOORCLOTH,  
waterproof, noiseless, warm, flexible, and more durable  
than any other ever introduced. — Linoleum Manufacturing Com-  
pany (Limited), 45, Cannon street West. — W. J. Taylor, Secretary.

Figure 28 – The first advertisement of *Linoleum* by *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company (Limited)*. *The Standard*, 13 January 1865 (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

Additional advertising by the company is run in the *Birmingham Daily Post* from Saturday 15th April 1865 (Issue 2106) and *The Leeds Mercury* from Saturday 15th April 1865 (Issue 8428), and gradually, advertising of *Linoleum* is found in additional third-party advertising. *James Simpson*, New Carpet and Damask Warehouse of 70A George Street, Edinburgh advertise within *The Caledonian Mercury* from Wednesday 3rd May 1865 (Issue 23663) and *The Bury and Norwich Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* carry adverts on behalf of *Samuel Sale*, Upholsterer & C. of 23 Butter Market, Bury St Edmonds from Tuesday 26th September 1865 (Issue 4344, 1).

*Linoleum* appear to employ the strategy of a single local wholesaler/distributor, or *sole agency* within some of the major cities in the UK. In London, from Friday 1st September 1865 (Issue 12813, 1), we find the most active *Linoleum* distributor, in terms of advertising, within a large listing for the *Linoleum Floorcloth Warehouse* of *B. Hembry and Co.*, 91 Newgate Street, London & Liverpool and within *The Standard* on Saturday 2nd February 1867, (Issue 13258, 1) (Figure 29).



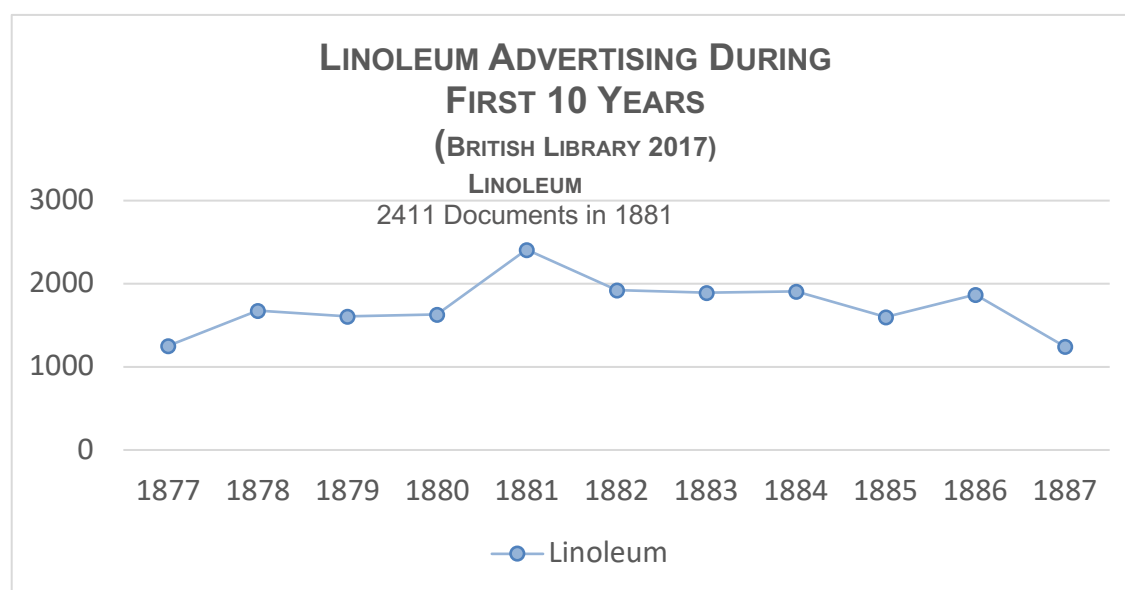
Figure 29 – The first advertisement of *Linoleum* by *The Linoleum Manufacturing Company (Limited)*. *B. Hembry and Co.* *The Standard*, Saturday 2 February 1867 (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

Originally a partnership between Benjamin Hembry and Arthur Erwin Taylor, they are listed as *Linoleum* and Floor Cloth Ware-housemen, No. 36, Strand, Middlesex and continue to advertise *Linoleum* until their partnership is dissolved

in March 1873 (*The London Gazette*, 7 March 1873). Both Taylor and Hembry continue to sell *Linoleum* independently, Taylor from The Strand address and Hembry from Newgate Street.

From early advertisement of *Linoleum*, we can deduce that *Linoleum* commissioned certain regional wholesalers to sell their product. These businesses believed *Linoleum* to be a commercial asset through analysis of its advertising schedule which reached its 19<sup>th</sup> century advertising peak of 2411 separate advertisements during 1881 (See Graph 1). It is also interesting to note that, despite the fact that the company moved to Staines in 1864, the word *Staines* does not appear to become prominent within any advertising for *Linoleum* until after the aforementioned court case, *Walton v Nairn*, in 1878. The first reference to the *Linoleum Manufacturing Company at Staines* is found within *The Standard* on 19th April 1879 (Issue 16767, 1) with greater prominence occurring from 21 May 1879 (Issue 17107, 1).

**Graph 1: Frequency of Linoleum Advertisements During the first ten years**



### 3.3 Linoleum Muralis

It is Benjamin Hembry's company *B. Hembry & Co.* which carried the very earliest advertisement found for *Linoleum Muralis*. The on-going advertising for *Linoleum*, found on page 1 of the classified advertisement section of the London newspaper, *The Standard*, sees *Linoleum Muralis* inserted at the bottom of the 5<sup>th</sup> August 1878 issue (16859). Again, there appears to be no fanfare announcement as with *Linoleum*. It is business as usual with the new material described as:

'The New Wall Decoration... especially adapted for Churches and Public Buildings, Halls, Dining, Billiard, and Smoking Rooms, Staircases, Dados, &c.' (Figure 30).

**L** INOLEUM.

**L** INOLEUM. The remarkable FLOOR CLOTH.

**L** INOLEUM. CARPET-LIKE APPEARANCE. Unequalled for wear, warm and soft to the feet.

**L** INOLEUM. EXTRAORDINARY SALES, ever increasing. Sold by all FURNISHING HOUSES. Town or country.

**L** INOLEUM. CAUTION.—Ask for the STAINES LINOLEUM, the Original Make.

**L** INOLEUM. See that you get the ORIGINAL CLOTH, manufactured at STAINES.

**L** INOLEUM. WHOLESALE and SHIPPING ORDERS to be addressed to the LINOLEUM MANUFACTURING COMPANY (Limited), 144, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.

**L** INOLEUM. CAUTION.—Beware of deception, look for the Trade Mark on the back of the Cloth, and the words "F. WALTON'S PATENTS."

**L** INOLEUM MURALIS, The New Wall Decoration, Especially adapted for Churches, Public Buildings, Halls, Dining, Billiard, and Smoking Rooms, Staircases, Dados, &c. 91, Newgate-street, London; and Liverpool.

**L** INOLEUM (Staines Make).—Every variety of pattern, including the new prize designs, to be seen at the Warehouse.—ARTHUR E. TAYLOR and BRADFORD, 35, Strand, W.C.

Figure 30 – The first advertisement of *Linoleum Muralis* by *B. Hembry and Co.* within *The Standard*, Monday, 5 August 1878 (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

Over the following three years we find *B. Hembry & Co.* list *Linoleum Muralis* in *The Standard* 106 times. 25 advertisements are run in 1878, with editing of the original listing from August of the same year, appearing to inflate the material from 'The New Wall Decoration' to the 'The Finest Wall Decoration yet produced' in the October 25<sup>th</sup> edition. (Issue 16929, 1). Visually the format remains similar with occasional changes in vocabulary that further promote the material, for example 'In solid relief like carved wood'. The change in terminology building upon the previous insertion by stating it as 'Highly artistic; impermeable to moisture' and 'can be washed with soap and water'. The advertisement changes the emphasis upon 'Churches and Public Buildings' and we begin to see more prominence given to the 'home' market, as the listing is re-written to read 'Adapted for Drawing and Dining Rooms, Halls, Public Buildings, Churches, &c.' (Figure 31).

<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> The remarkable <b>FLOOR CLOTH.</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> <b>CARPET-LIKE APPEARANCE.</b> Unequalled for wear, warm and soft to the feet
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> <b>EXTRAORDINARY SALES,</b> ever increasing. Sold by all <b>FURNISHING HOUSES.</b> Town or Country.
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> <b>CAUTION.—Ask for the STAINES</b> <b>INOLEUM,</b> the Original Make.
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> See that you get the <b>ORIGINAL</b> <b>CLOTH,</b> manufactured at <b>STAINES.</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> <b>WHOLESALE and SHIPPING</b> <b>ORDERS</b> to be addressed to the <b>INOLEUM</b> <b>MANUFACTURING COMPANY (Limited),</b> 144, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM.</b> <b>CAUTION.—Beware of deception,</b> look for the Trade Mark on the back of the Cloth, and the words " <b>E. WALTON'S</b> <b>PATENTS.</b> "
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM MURALIS.</b> The finest Wall Decoration yet produced. Is in Solid Relief, like Carved Wood. <b>B. HEMBRY and Co.</b> Highly artistic; impermeable to moisture. Can be washed with soap and water. Adapted for Drawing and Dining Rooms, Halls, Public Buildings, Churches, &c. 81, Newgate-street, London; and Liverpool.
<b>L</b>	<b>INOLEUM (Staine's Make).—Every variety of</b> pattern, including the new prize designs, to be seen at the Ware- house.— <b>ARTHUR E. TAYLOR and BRADFORD,</b> 36, Strand, W.C.

Figure 31 – *B. Hembry and Co.* advert for *Linoleum Muralis* in *The Standard*, 25 October 1878 illustrating amendments to vocabulary (British Library Newspapers, 2017)



The advertisements continue to run and increase in regularity to 63 insertions during 1879 although 'Frederick Walton Patents', which previously appeared within the listing for *Linoleum*, is no longer represented by September 24<sup>th</sup> within *The Standard* (Issue 17215, 1) and by November 14<sup>th</sup>, within the *Daily News* (Issue 10475, 7).

We also find *B. Hembry & Co.* advertising in the *Daily News*, a liberal, London newspapers *Advertisements & Notices* (Issue 10093, 7), on Monday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1878. Over the following two years, *Linoleum Muralis* is advertised by *B. Hembry & Co.* in the *Daily News* on 25 occasions, twice in 1878, seventeen times in 1879 and only once in 1880. In *The Standard*, *Linoleum Muralis* is advertised 19 times in 1880, although the prominence within the advert now appears significantly reduced with the last inserted on 28<sup>th</sup> July (Issue 17479, 7). The last and only insert during 1880 within the *Daily News* was on 7<sup>th</sup> July (Issue 10677, 7).

The advertising does not appear to directly target a specific market. However, *The Standard* was a successful London morning newspaper in direct competition with *The Times*, the city daily, which was published with 'a Conservative tone... devoted to English and protestant principles.' Founded in 1785, *The Times*, a national newspaper, was read avidly by 'educated middle and upper classes throughout the British Isles and Continental Europe' selling twice as many copies as its rivals. (British Library Newspapers, *The Standard*, *The Times*, 2017; Dobson et al, 2009, 201). The fact that *Lincrusta\** (excluding *The Sunbury Wall Decoration*) advertising was not run within *The Times* suggests this was not the targeted market at this time.

The adverts within *The Standard* do follow a certain pattern of inclusion on Mondays (32 times), Wednesdays (33 times) and Fridays (35 times), while adverts were only listed twice on a Tuesday, once on a Thursday and three times on a Saturday. The *Daily News* follows a similar, if not significantly reduced, pattern of Monday (5 times), Wednesday (7 times) and Friday (8 times) over the same two-year period.

*Linoleum Muralis* was also marketed outside of London, although not nearly as frequently, as it was undertaken in London newspapers during this time however, does see a significant rise in insertion of advertising figures from 3 advertisements during 1878 to 52 in 1879 and 58 during 1880. *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, a liberal Newspaper, ran the first and most significant listing outside of London with 48 insertions from Mondays through to Saturdays for approximately one week every month, between 28th April 1879 until 4th December 1880, on behalf of *J. Appleyard and Sons* (Later *Johnson & Appleyards* – from August 1879). The adverts always included the statement ‘Successful Art Cabinet Manufacturers, upholsterers and Decorators by Special Appointment to *HRH The Prince of Wales*’, of Rotherham and Conisborough, but make no additional reference to *Lincrusta*\* nor refer to the characteristics of the material or suggested room installation.

We also find *Linoleum Muralis* advertised in *The Isle of Wight Observer* for *Riddett & Son*, Upholsterers and General Furnishers, carpet warehouse and Bedding manufacturer at 68, Union Street, Ryde. They advertise between 1880 (38 times) and 1881 (9 times), the first on 17th April 17th, 1880 (Issue 1429, 1) and the last on 28th February 1881 (Issue 1486, 1). The advert occupies the same prominent position in the top left of page 1, focusing on *Linoleum Muralis* as a ‘durable and effective substitute for wallpapers’.

An additional advert on 10th April 1880, in issue 1428, page 7, supports the principle that *Linoleum* and *Lincrusta*\* employed the strategy of sole agency as Riddett and Son inform their customer of the exclusivity of their agency on the Isle of Wight (Figure 32).

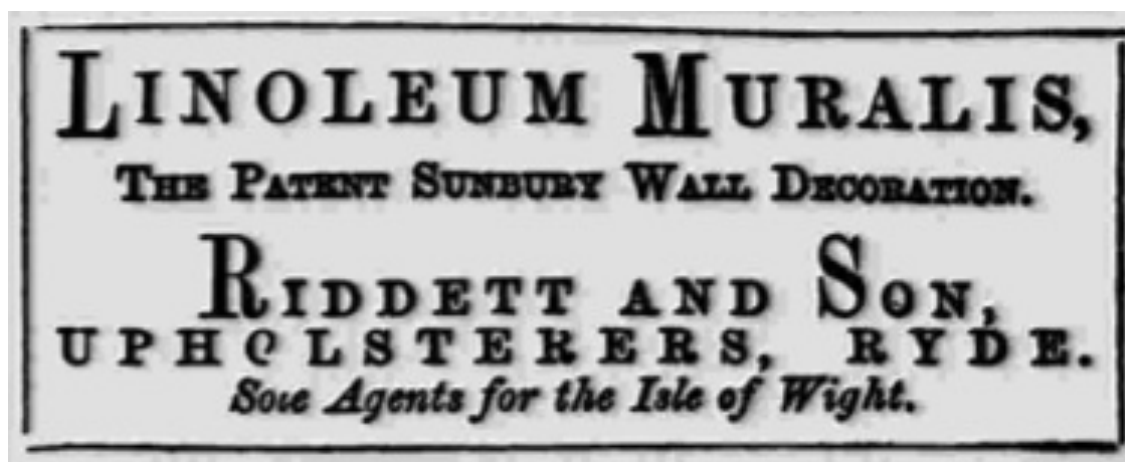


Figure 32 – Advertising by *Riddett and Son* within *The Isle of Wight Observer*, 10 April 1880, Issue 1428, illustrating their sole agency (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

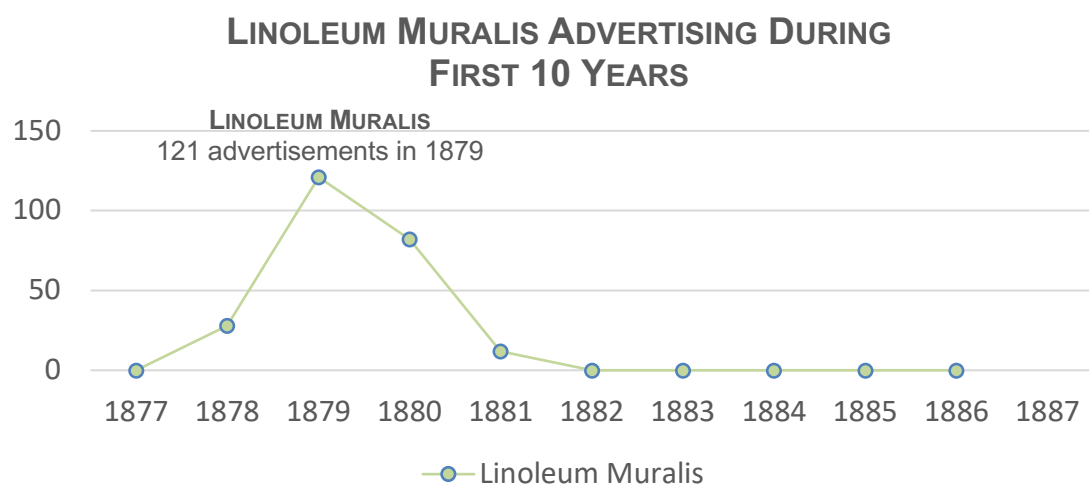
Additionally, *Linoleum Muralis* is promoted by other prominent companies in three other towns. *John Hall*, Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer, &c. of 55, London Street Derby, ran 7 classified ads in the *Derby Mercury* the first on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1880 and the last on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1881. The Company highlight *Linoleum Muralis* within its advert, the company also confirm they are the ‘sole agent for the district for Patent *Linoleum Muralis* or *Sunbury Wall Decoration*’. *D. Hickman* ran four classified advertisements in the *Nottingham Guardian* on Fridays during April, May and June of 1880. The painter, gilder, ecclesiastical and general decorator held the ‘Largest and Choicest stock of English and French Paperhangings’ in addition to ‘Pattern Books of Walton & Co.’ (2 April 1880, Issue 1819, 1).

Finally, we read of *Debenham & Hewett*’s, located at Cavendish House, Regent Street, Cheltenham who advertise *Linoleum Muralis* within the classified advertisements of the *Berrows Worcester Journal* running on the last two Saturdays of August 1879 (Issue 9697, 1 and Issue 9698, 1). We note from their

advertisement that prices were 'calculated at the lowest possible rates for prompt net cash payments' and where a large collection of Morris's paper hangings, French papers and the *New Sunbury Wall Decoration - Linoleum Muralis* could be found.

Advertising of *Linoleum Muralis* appears to follow a similar, although significantly reduced marketing strategy to that of *Linoleum*, reaching a peak in 1879 with 121 advertisements placed throughout the country and *B. Hembry & Co.* remains the leading supplier of both *Linoleum* and *Linoleum Muralis* throughout this period (GRAPH 2).

**Graph 2: Frequency of Linoleum Muralis Advertisements by Year**



### 3.4 The Sunbury Wall Decoration

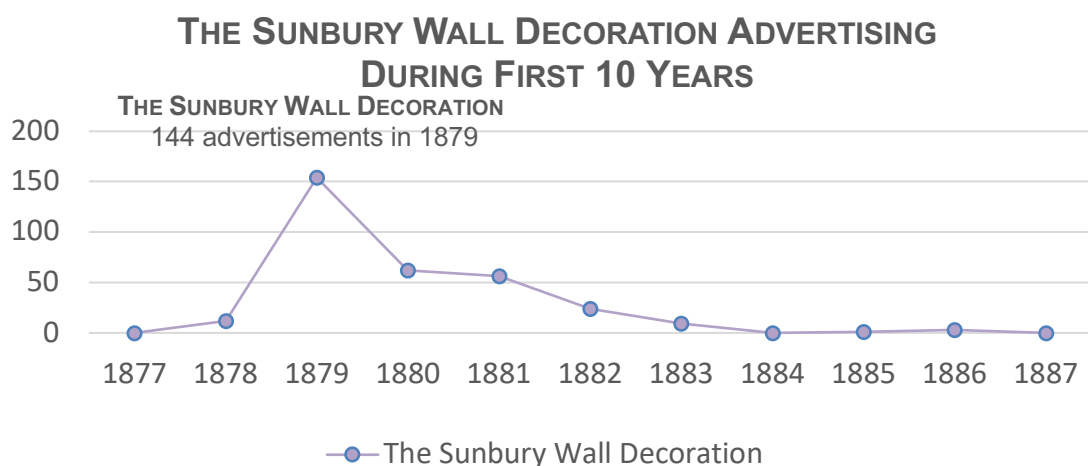
Research highlighted only two advertisements within the classified ads of the London newspaper, *The Times*, which when scrutinised, appeared to exclusively feature *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* and listed by *Frederick Walton and Co.* with no reference either to *Linoleum*, or *Linoleum Muralis*. (Figure 33).



Figure 33 – *The Times* 26 June & 10 July 1879, (Issues 29604, 15 & 29616, 19). Advert run by *Frederick Walton and Co.* for *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* (*The Times Digital Archive*, 2017)

Further analysis reveals several more advertisements exclusive to *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* in other newspapers. Insertion statistics suggest that *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* was promoted 247 times between 1878 and 1883; predominantly during 1879, when reference was made 144 times (Graph3).

**Graph 3: Frequency of The Sunbury Wall Decoration Advertisements by Year**



This is in comparison to only 121 times during the same period for *Linoleum-Muralis*. Additionally, we find *Messrs' Walton & Co* advertise *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* prominently within their advertisements during late 1878 to early 1879, with the earliest on the 22<sup>nd</sup> November within *The Standard* (Figure 34) with a significantly larger listing within *The Graphic* the following day and two further inserts within the *Pall Mall Gazette* on December 16<sup>th</sup> and *Morning Post* on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1879 (British Library Newspapers).



Figure 34 – The earliest advertisement for *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* on Friday 22 November 1878, Issue 16953, 7 for *Walton & Co.* (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

We also learn that although the public were invited to visit their show-rooms at 9, Berners Street, where they offer up the promise of the ‘decorations can be seen in various styles, as fixed’. They continue to define the distribution methods by specifying ‘Whole-sale only’. Simpson (1999a, 92), suggests the most common form of *Linoleum* advertising was addressed to the trade, and not to the public and it would certainly appear that Walton’s advertising continues to follow the *Linoleum* company’s lead, as direct appeal to the customer appears infrequently outside of third-party advertising.

### 3.5 Lincrusta-Walton

It is well established by others (Simpson, 1997; Parsons, 1996) that Walton's name was adopted in order to maintain his exclusive rights to the name *Lincrusta\** after the aforementioned court-case, and we find *Lincrusta-Walton* is simply inserted in place of *Linoleum Muralis* within the newspaper advertising reproduced by their regional agents. Again, *B. Hembry and Co.* are the first to publish an advertisement of *Lincrusta-Walton*, where they simply replace *Linoleum Muralis* without explanation, with *Lincrusta-Walton* within their *Linoleum* adverts on September 20th, 1880.

Sales continue as if nothing significant has changed and for *Lincrusta\** it is business as usual, *Lincrusta\** appears to successfully leap the change of name with no significant consequence. Indeed, agents and retailers begin to invest in educating their customer by inserting samples of *Lincrusta\** within their own catalogues, thereby informing their customers of the materials unique qualities, which no doubt assisted with *Lincrusta\** sales. Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 251) illustrate this achievement by writing of the wall paper merchants, who in 'due course', upon realisation of the value and success of *Lincrusta\**:

'commenced to insert mounted samples and illustrations in their new pattern books. This necessitated placing stock orders (hitherto practically unknown with regards to *Lincrusta\**) and progress became continuous.'

Three late 19<sup>th</sup> century examples of third-party publications that hold mounted samples of *Lincrusta\** were found at *The Whitworth Art Gallery* and exemplify the practice. One such catalogue *The Art Paper Hangings* included two examples that exemplify the *chocolate* solid colour discussed in greater detail in Section 4.2 An Artists Medium. (See Figure 36 - ) No's 24000 (1) at 18 inches wide and 24001 (2) at 18 ½ inches wide with both selling at 1/- per yard.





Figure 35 – Art Paperhangings and Decorators catalogue with mounted, solid examples of *Lincrusta*\* 1899 - *The Whitworth Art Gallery*



Figure 36 - Samples of *Lincrusta*\* No. 24000 (1) and 24001 (2) illustrating the reverse (3) and the solid colour of design 24001 from front to back found within the *Paperhangings and Decorators* catalogue of 1899 - *The Whitworth Art Gallery*

What we do begin to see within the advertising is the increasing presence of *Lincrusta*\* and their agents publicity strategy. By January 1881, *Lincrusta*\*, through announcements in *The Standard*, are advertising the material as a 'Fashionable Wall Decoration' and publicising the reduction of prices and a 'Descriptive Pamphlet and Opinions of the Press sent free on application' through to the public. This price drop suggests that *Lincrusta*\* had been able to increase production, thereby lowering overheads or perhaps, although unlikely, the suggestion that *Lincrusta*\* was struggling to gain a foothold on the market and needed to encourage more sales. However, advertisements (British Library Newspapers, 2017) appear larger and discuss in greater detail all the applications, locations and exhibitions where *Lincrusta*\* could be found as well as illustrating the broader range of agents able to supply the material to the public, which again suggests an increased demand rather than the latter.

*B. Hembry & Co.* continue as a major advertiser but are now joined within the London market by the highly respected complete house furnishers, *Messrs. Maple and Co.* located at this time between 145 – 149 Tottenham Court Road (Edwards, 2018), who are advertising on behalf of *Lincrusta*\* from January 1881, although we do find reference of an earlier association from September 1880, discussed in greater detail in Section 4.1. They are also joined by the companies *Conrath & Sons*, also in January 1881 and *S. Litchfield* from February 1881 and by May 1881 we find *Sparrow & Son* in Nottingham and *John E. Elliott* who have taken up the helm for *J. Jones and Son* in Sheffield who have retired. From this point on, we begin to see the addition of highly esteemed retailers and a growing national market, *Lincrusta*\* are beginning to cultivate and grow their wholesale market.

In order to define the date of change from *Linoleum Muralis* to *Lincrusta-Walton* which was made on or around September 1880 it was necessary to chart the advertising evidence. Certainly, the very first mention found within advertising was the earlier reference to the *B. Hembry and Co.* promotion of *Lincrusta-Walton* in September 1880. The largest advertisement found to date, appeared on the 10th February 1881, bringing together *Conrath & Sons* and *S. Litchfield* in a full column promotion, indicating a formal recognition of the re-branding however, there is no cross-reference to *Linoleum Muralis* found in any newspaper publication. Conversely, we are able to find definitive confirmation of the change in name occurring in 1880 within an article published within *The Building News* on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1880, which formally announces:

“*Linoleum Muralis*” ...is henceforth to be called “*Lincrusta-Walton*”... the inventor’s name being added to prevent other firms from using the word “*Lincrusta*” after the first patent has expired’. (*The Building News*, 1880, 672).

This may well suggest that *Lincrusta*\* communicated through journals and not through newspaper advertising as we find *Linoleum Muralis* is still utilised as late as 5<sup>th</sup> August 1882 within the *Manchester Times*, (Issue 1282, 6) where we find reference to a *Proposed Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition* to be held at the St James Hall, Manchester between October and November 1882. They refer to the upcoming exhibition where *The Lincrusta-Walton Company* will be displaying their *Linoleum-Muralis*.

It would appear that there was little fanfare surrounding the company name change, certainly, the material appears to have, for a short time at least, traded under the name *Lincrusta*\* as found on the cover of the Blue 1880 catalogue. However, a significant number of London companies are advertising *Lincrusta-Walton* by January 1881 e.g. *Maple and Co.* on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 1881, thereby adding further credibility to the Blue catalogues suggested date of 1880.

It is therefore not inconceivable that the company name change preceded that of the material name change, on paper at least, or at the very least, it was not highly publicised, thereby causing a delay in recognition within the national market. In addition, the advertising material suggests that it is certainly not improbable to suppose, that at this early stage the company were experimenting with the name. Indeed, we find support for this theory within a prominent advertisement by *B. Hembry & Co.*, published within *The Art Journal* in December 1878, where we see that *Lincrusta\** is referred to as *Linoleum Muralis*, 'or' *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* (Figure 37).

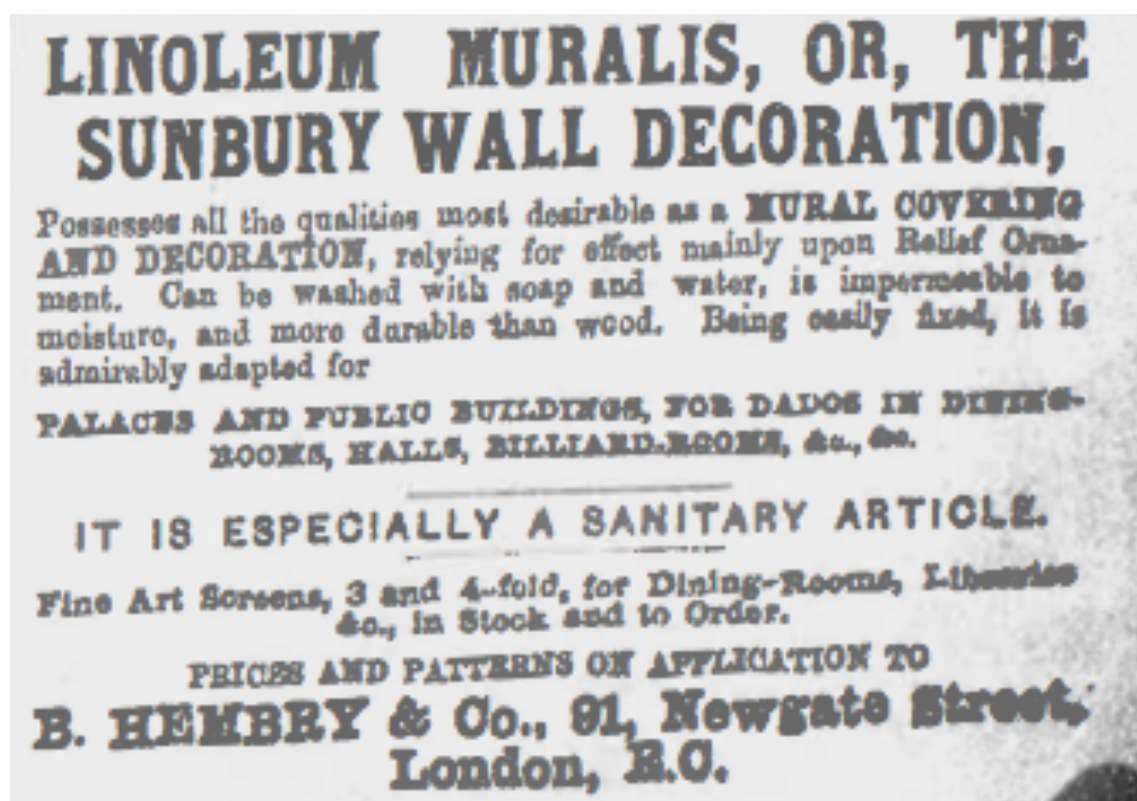
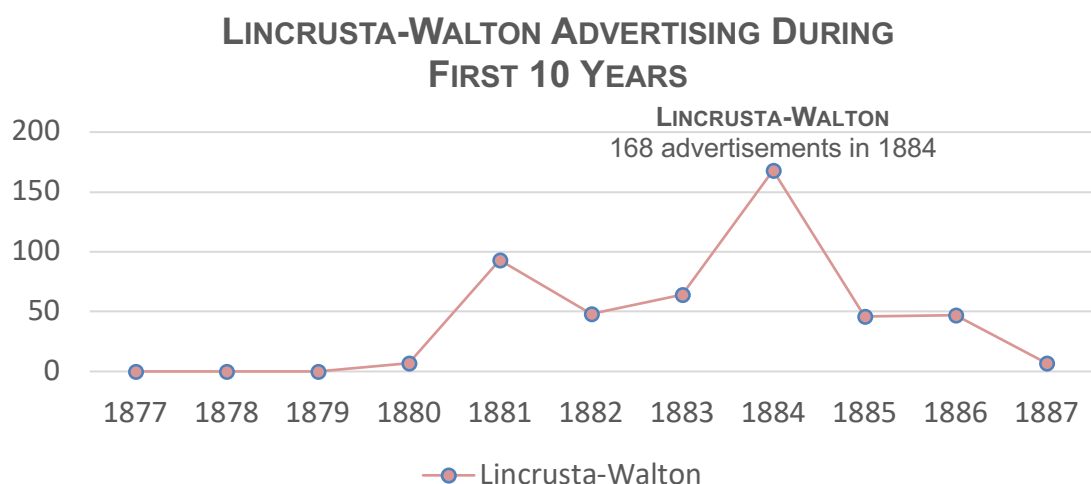


Figure 37 – Advertisement of *B. Hembry & Co.* where we see reference to the use of BOTH *Linoleum Muralis* and *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* (British Library Newspapers, 2017)

We also find reference to both within an article from *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* dated to April 1880 and we can only speculate as to why it is only occasionally referred to by both names. Confusion by the promoter would be unlikely in the case of *B. Hembry & Co.* after such a long association with both companies. It maybe that either during expansion to foreign markets or due to the upheaval caused by the loss of trademark in 1878, the company sought clarity and distinction for their new material, and to distance themselves from the publicity of the trade-mark court action.

Analysis of the early marketing and advertising strategies suggest that *Lincrusta*\* advertising reaches a peak of 168 inserts during 1884 (Graph 4) with *B. Hembry & Co.* remaining the most significant advertiser for *Linoleum* and *Lincrusta*\* during these early years and who would remain as a sole agent for the supply of *Linoleum* until March 1895, when the last advertisement was placed on behalf of *Linoleum* within the *Liverpool Mercury newspaper* (*B. Hembry & Co.* 1895).

**Graph 4: Frequency of Lincrusta-Walton Advertisements by Year**

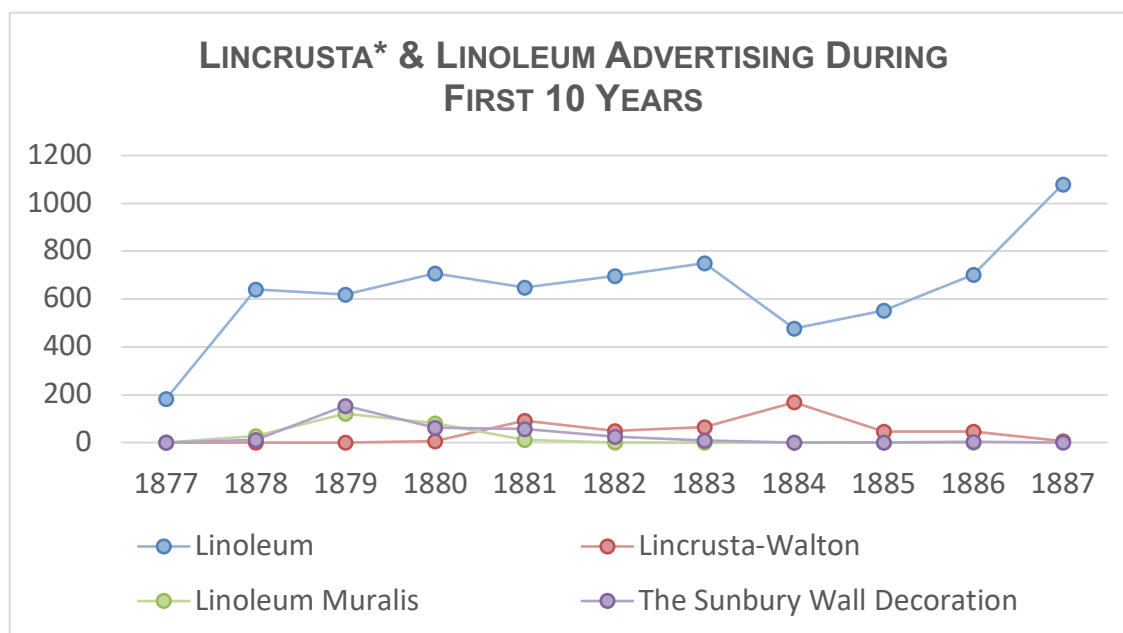


However, no advertising of *Lincrusta*\* is found within *B. Hembry and Co.* publicity after 1882, although advertising appears to continue with Messrs *Maple & Co.* in London. National promotion of *Lincrusta*\* begins to reduce significantly, and many companies cease to promote *Lincrusta*\* so prominently within their advertising. We find *Lincrusta*\* advertised with other wallcovering materials such as *Tynecastle Tapestry* invented in 1884 (Sugden and Edmondson, 1925, 249). This may signify the wide spread market acceptance of the product and it is quite likely that *Lincrusta*\* and its capabilities as a wallcovering have now been established with a fair share of the wallcoverings market and sales have stabilised, negating the need for heavy widespread advertising.

The comparative research undertaken in this chapter confirms that *Lincrusta*\* advertises under three different names during their first decade (Graph 5). We find that advertising for *Linoleum Muralis*, *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* and *Lincrusta-Walton* see an overlap that begins in 1881 but that by 1884 the only advertised material name is for *Lincrusta-Walton*, however there are 3 further advertisements for *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* during 1883, 1885 and 1886 that are, as yet, unexplained and indicate the need for additional research.

In addition, exploration of the advertising confirmed that *Lincrusta*\* did utilise the same publicity strategies and some of the publicity agents, wholesalers and retailers as *Linoleum*. Some suppliers did appear to exclusively supply *Lincrusta*\* however, no conclusive pattern can be determined without further establishing each business's precise market, which time has not allowed for. However, we can determine from the shared advertising insert that a few companies did retail both *Lincrusta*\* and *Linoleum*, indicating a partial shared distribution network albeit on a smaller scale.

**GRAPH 5: FREQUENCY OF LINCRUSTA\* & LINOLEUM ADVERTISEMENTS BY YEAR**



A systematic investigation of the hundreds of classified advertisements within newspapers summarised trends and changes and created new understanding of the use of *Lincrusta\** by the consumer. What became clear was that *Lincrusta\** did not nationally advertise their products to the general public on their own behalf during the first ten years. A limited access to trade resources suggested it was likely that *Lincrusta\** advertised directly to the wholesaler, either through direct marketing materials or within specialist publications aimed at the decorating and home furnishing trade. This avenue of investigation has not been extensively explored as it was not possible to access these significant publications in any number however, further research of these publications offers up an additional avenue of enquiry that is likely to establish *Lincrusta's\** direct sales strategy.



## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 Introduction

Chapter 4 establishes a picture of everyday society and the class culture of the time by illustrating how taste was communicated through self-expression and fashion offering up a reflection of the designer and ultimately the producer from within the confines of the society into which they were conceived. Indications that illustrate the maker's intent which, in turn contributes further to our understanding and knowledge. These objects reflect, either directly or indirectly, through discursive publications, advertisements, and books, the commissioner, producer, purchaser or utiliser and thereby through association, the taste, values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions that are revealed through fashions and trends.

It is undeniable that Lincrusta\* was initially marketed from a utilitarian perspective as we find continual reference to Lincrusta's\* durability and sanitary qualities as illustrated in Hoskins (2005, 156) yet, seen purely from the aesthetic, they were impressive, elegant and artistic, and we can clearly identify them with decorative wallpapers and view them from the perspective of the 'Applied arts'. Indeed, Prown (1982, 1 - 16) supports and clarifies this by suggesting that the applied arts are the 'furniture, furnishings and receptacles', which like architecture, are, 'in partnership' with the utility and aesthetic appeal of Art and Craft. Prown goes on to state that amongst other notable purposes, the primary purpose of art is to 'to delight the eye...', going on to declare that 'art is what we say is art, including ethnographic and technological objects that were not created as art but that have been anesthetised by being placed in museums or other special collections'. (Lubar. And Kingery, 1993, 2).

#### 4.1 Decorative Potential

Discussion within journals, periodicals and magazines on the artistic potential of Lincrusta\* was in evidence almost from inception, documenting the material and reflecting contemporary use both in the United Kingdom and the United States.

The earliest published description to the decorative potential of *Lincrusta\** was found in an article printed within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, published monthly in England by Samuel Beeton, widower of Mrs Beeton and publisher of *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861). All of the articles within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* were written by Matilda Brown, an experienced and respected authority on 'health, beauty & dress' (Brake et al, 2009) and the publication was aimed predominantly at women of the middle classes at a cost of 3d. an issue, with an additional 3d. for supplemental fashion plates and dressmaking patterns.

The earliest article found on *Lincrusta\** printed within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was published on 1st April 1879, entitled *Fashion in Furniture* which discusses the embellishment of raised patterns that give the appearance of embossed leather from a material that is 'likely to be considered one of the best recognised methods of ornamenting... walls' whilst suggesting it was 'wonderfully improved by being painted and decorated after it is put up' using 'oil colours' (Brown, 1879).

Brown suggests that *Muralis* or *The Sunbury Wall Decoration* could be seen to great advantage at *Messrs. Rough & Son*, 6, St Paul's Churchyard London. Brown goes on to inform the reader that the material was 'neither a paper nor a woollen hanging, nor leather, nor painting on the wall', further suggesting the material had the characteristics of all, in a composition 'resembling *Linoleum* but not quite so thick', with new designs 'constantly being introduced' and the

suggestion that there was 'even greater choice as it can be made in any colour preferred'. Additionally, we find the first reference to the unusual suggestion that *Lincrusta*\* could be 'taken down and removed to another room or house', as per other textile and fabric hangings, 'although of course with rather more trouble than ordinary hangings' (Brown, 1879).

The next reference within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was found the following year on the 1st April 1880, again within an article entitled *Fashion in Furniture* with reference to "*Muralis* or *The Sunbury Wall Decoration*' (Brown, 1880). It recalls their previous article on *Linoleum Muralis*, 'of which we, first spoke many months ago, but which is only now beginning to be used to any extent'. They go on to inform their readers of the greater variety in designs, but do not illustrate these. Brown, supported by advertisements within *The Standard* (from January 1881), informs us that the material is supplied in two thicknesses, the thinner being used on ceilings with the thicker being 'better adapted for walls.' Brown refers to:

'an extended knowledge of the amount and kind of decoration [of] which Muralis can be made the foundation',

and goes on to introduce, Royal warrant holders, *Messrs, Maple & Co.*, of Tottenham Court Road, successful furniture retailers and upholsterers, as a supplier and exponent of *Lincrusta*\* who utilise the material on walls and ceilings within the houses they decorate and advocate its use as a 'covering for every portion of the house'.

The author continues by enthusiastically advocating *Lincrusta*\* as easily cleansed by washing over with a sponge and water and used successfully in staircases and passages:

‘partly on account of the difficulty of injuring it, and partly because of its handsome appearance... both simple and elaborate... geometrical designs, conventional flowers and foliage, and for screens and panels; cupids holding wreaths of flowers, fruit, & c., on a gold ground... [with] ...some of the friezes and borders decorated with insects and birds’.

These early articles reveal costings for Muralis; the earlier article (Brown, 1879), gives the earliest reference found with ‘the great variety of patterns’ priced at 2s. 8d. per yard and dados at 3s per yard. The second article published exactly one year later on the 1st April 1880 (Brown, 1880) tells us the price has been reduced and could now be purchased from 1s. 6d. per yard for ‘plain Muralis in a simple pattern’ with thicker, more elaborate designs costing ‘more’.

‘Fixing’, it is suggested, will cost about 1d. per yard with all supplied by Messrs. Maple & Co., who hold a large stock of ‘plain’ and either ‘lightly or highly decorated’ at ‘very moderate prices’. However, it was not always suggested that ‘fixing’ was undertaken by the supplier. *The Building News* in December 1880 provides fixing instructions to the independent workman that reads:

‘In fixing the *Lincrusta*\*, care is required in cutting the edges straight, but the instructions given will enable any workman to understand the operation. Glue and paste are used in the proportion of one-third of the former to two-thirds of the latter, and as thick as it is possible to use it, the mixture being laid on lightly with a stiff brush. For damp walls a specially made varnish is supplied, with which the walls are covered in two-coats, one being allowed to dry before the other is applied’. (*The Building News*, 1880, 672).

Later reference for hanging *Lincrusta*\* is again found in in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* on 1st September 1886 (19<sup>th</sup> Century UK Periodicals), where the material has become more familiar to the public and advice is given to their female readership, and although similar, more directly replicates that of modern 21<sup>st</sup> century installation in that:

‘The aid of the paper-hanger may be dispensed with in putting up Lincrusta\*; the material hangs easily, and is too strong to tear, but great care must be given to the cutting of the edges, if these are not perfectly straight it will be impossible to make neatly fitting joins... cut into lengths as required, whether for a dado, panel, or wall covering, and is fixed in place with a stiff paste which is a mixture of one third of glue to two thirds of paste; this is laid on lightly, but is mixed very thick; the length of Lincrusta\* is fixed in place below the cornice with gimp pins, and then pressed on to the wall, always from the centre of the breadth outwards, to prevent the air from getting under the material’.

Tools are also similar in that they advise:

‘... a long flat ruler of iron, or of wood with an iron edge, and a sharp knife... held at a slight inward inclination, will secure the necessary sharpness of line’

And finally:

‘Any stains or marks made in hanging the Lincrusta\* can be washed out with soap and water, or with a little spirit of turpentine. If the wall is damp before putting on Lincrusta\* it should receive two coats of Lincrusta\* patent varnish, the first one being allowed to become thoroughly dry before the second one is put on, and this also being perfectly dry before the Lincrusta\* is pasted on as the substance is apt to become a trifle stiff in cold weather, it should be placed in a warm situation first a short time before hanging, if the work is done in the winter’.

Hoskins et al (2005, 157) also discuss costing and sales figures, revealing that although less expensive than traditional relief decorations, *Lincrusta\** ‘was still out of reach of the mass market’ at 2s a yard, yet refrain from giving a broader understanding of the vagaries of cost or suggest a period when this was applicable.

Hoskins et al (2005, 157) also reference the company sales by suggesting they trebled between the years 1879 - 1884 and that in 1891 *Lincrusta\** proudly advertised sales of 23,000 yards (21,000m) of a single design however, they refrain from identifying either the pattern or the pattern number.

In order to gain greater perspective of the cost of *Lincrusta*\* during this early period we need to ascertain some understanding of the cost of living and average earnings. Rosoman (2009) tells us that during the 1880's and 1890's the poorest unskilled female workers were only likely to have earned between 6 - 12 shillings (s) a week, a bank clerk, shopkeeper or street vendor able to bring home around a pound (£) a week, with a skilled bricklayer perhaps earning 'slightly less than two pounds a week but only for the summer months with the winter seeing the possibility of a lot less'. Emsley et al (2015) discuss the earnings of a skilled engineer at around £110 per year and they inform their reader that an average family would need to earn a little over £50 a year 'just to get by' in paying their bills and necessities, which equates to just under 20 shillings a week; a shilling was worth 12 pennies (d) with pound (£) worth twenty shillings.

Emsley et al (2015) inform us that a senior clerk renting a terraced house suitable for his family and at least one live-in servant could easily expect to pay £100 a year and that a loaf of bread would have cost between a 1/4 and 1/2 penny.

Unfortunately, the author was unable to assess comparative costs of other raised relief wallpapers during the period as price lists proved difficult to source. However, a general pricing of wallpapers was found in Andrews (2015, 95) where we find machine-printed wallpapers could be purchased in around 1890 for only two-pence a roll with the luxury hand-printed wallpapers from Jeffrey & Co. costing in the region of 25 shillings a roll.

Rolls of wallpaper at this time were 22.5 inches wide and 12 yards long, *Lincrusta*\* was sold in lengths from rolls that were also 12 yards in length. This would equate to some designs in early *Lincrusta*\* at 2s. 8d. a yard costing 33s. 6d. a roll in 1879 reducing to 1s. 6d. per yard or 19s. 2d. a roll in 1880.

Pricing from the Red 1898 catalogue tells us that the cost of *Lincrusta*\* had dropped substantially, especially when inflation is taken into account, and could be purchased from as little as 1s a yard although a large 20' x 20' ceiling rose design No. 3038 cost a substantial 9s. In addition, the catalogues do not go so far as to suggest a logic behind the pricing. Intricate designs often appear less expensive than some of the simpler designs. It is therefore suggested that prices may have based on the amount of the raw material used to make up the design and not on the design itself. This offers potential for additional investigation that is beyond the brief of this study however, offers an interesting addition to the *Lincrusta*\* portfolio that has not been discussed in any other document scrutinised over the course of this research.

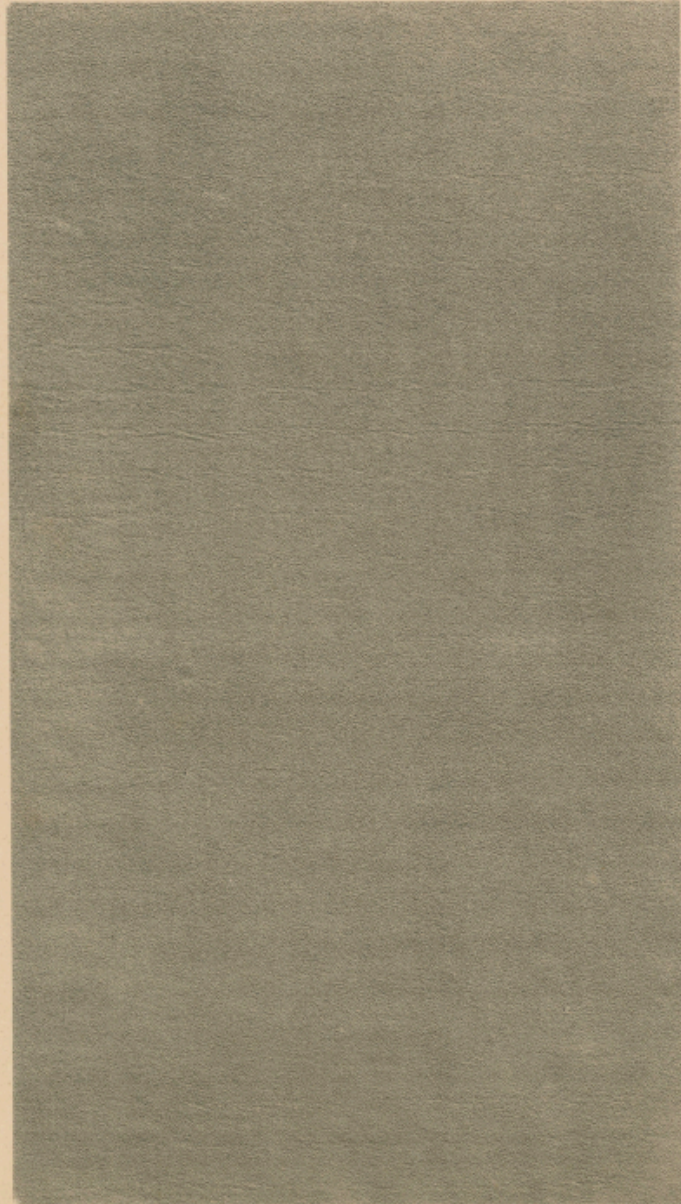


## 4.2 An Artists Medium

M.E. James writing on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1885 within *Kind Words for Boys and Girls* (19th Century UK Periodicals, 2016), is the first to detail *Lincrusta*\* as an amateur artist's medium within the British market. The article, written for older children, suggests *Lincrusta*\* 'makes an excellent ground-work for painting on in oils' as well as for 'a dozen decorative purposes', to include, 'panels for doors, window-shutters, or cupboards'. In describing the material, we learn that at this date, *Lincrusta*\* was available in chocolate, green, red, buff, and oak colours with either a flat or raised surface. James guides his young readers through the task of decorating raised relief panels for adornment to walls and the painting upon a 'flat ground'. This may well be referring to the design No. 138 (Figure 38) which was also illustrated in colour within Sugden and Edmondson (1926, 247). It may also be suggested that James is referring to the design labelled 'rough ground', both of which could be purchased at 1s. 3d. a yard.

The rough ground *Lincrusta*\* required the paint to be 'put on thickly to fill up the tiny depressions in the ground-work' and both surfaces required cutting to size, 'taking particular care to cut the edges straight...by the use of a straightedge... [and] ...a sharp knife', before drawing, then painting in the design.

LINCROSTA-WALTON.



No 138

SCALE OF INCHES.

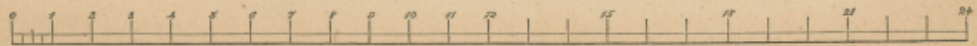


Figure 38 – Design No. 138 from the Blue 1880 catalogue  
(Penn State University Libraries 2017)

James spends much time on the instruction of 'the exact nature of the decoration... [and] the exercise of individual taste' suggesting a screen created from 'three panels five feet high' with borders and edgings would cost from 'four pence to one shilling per yard, according to their width, and ranging from 'a little over 1 inch to nearly six', with designs to include 'the well-known key pattern'. Research by the author suggests this is design No. 145 from the Blue 1880 catalogue. This, he says, is a Japanese design, with Gothic, and many foliage designs which when bronzed, gilded or coloured with lacquer looked 'like Spanish leather-work'. Additionally, he tells us that small mats or door finger plates (See Figure 12 & Figure 13) could be purchased for decorating for about 1s. or dados for about 3s. per yard.

Additional reference to *Lincrusta*\* used as an artistic medium was also found in an article published in *Le Follet - Journal du Grand Monde Fashion, Society, Beaux Arts, &c.* on 1st September 1888 (19th Century UK Periodicals, 2016). This was the English edition of a leading French fashion magazine of the same title, published monthly between 1846 – 1900 at the cost of 1s 6d. 'The journal was lavishly produced' and 'promised its upper-class female readers... easier access to "La Mode Parisienne"'. (Brake & Demoor, 2009). Their article on *Lincrusta*\* writes of the purchase of *Lincrusta*\* and the selection of designs, 'whether flowers, figures, or landscape...'. It goes on to discuss a Mr. Godfrey Giles (Figure 39) who had 'turned *Lincrusta* to such effective account in some of the best houses in England... [has] collected a very large number of copies in all subjects, painted in *Lincrusta*, for Panels, screens friezes, &c.'

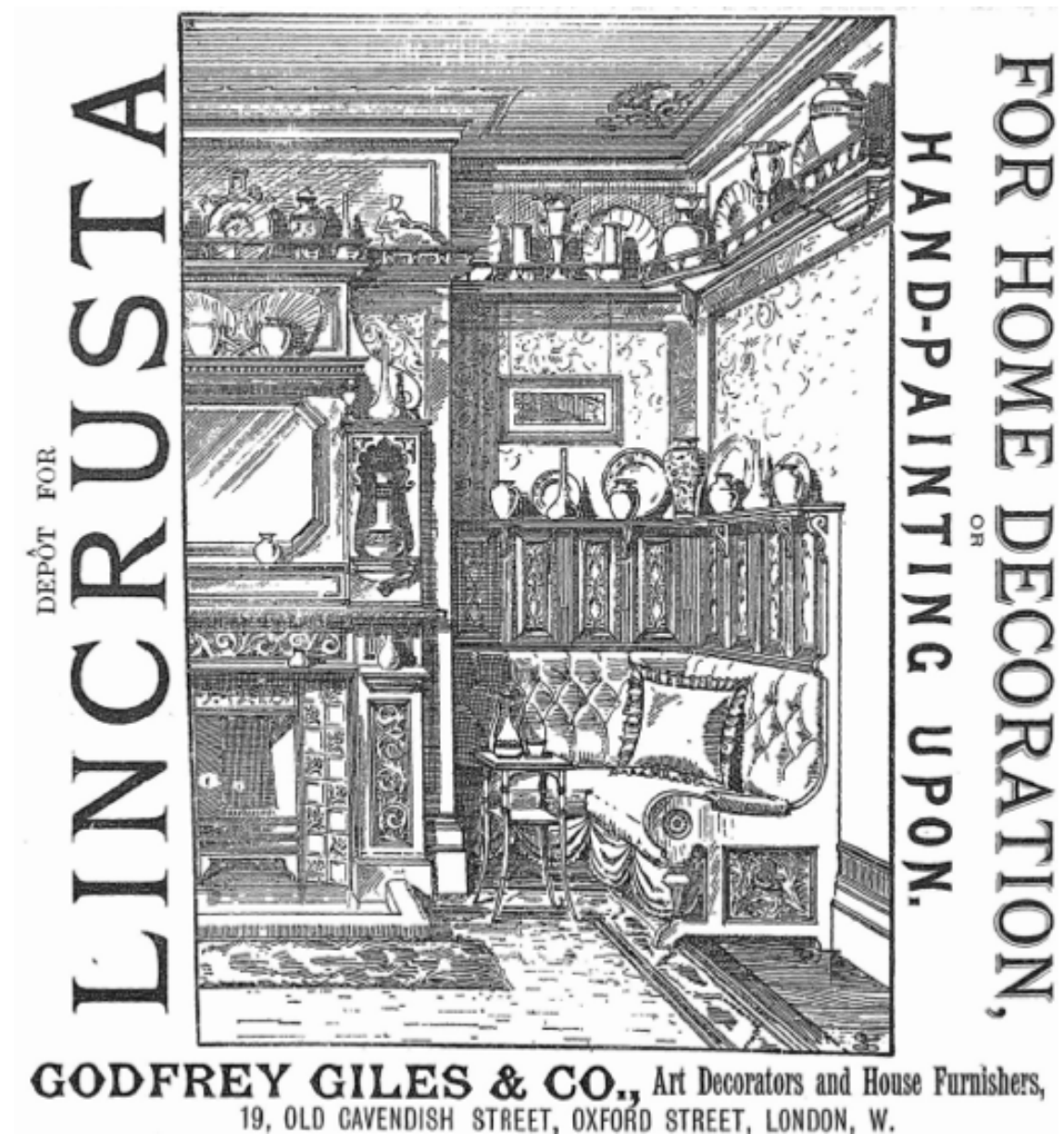


Figure 39 – Godfrey Giles & Co. advertisement 1895 - Art Decorators of *Lincrusta*\* (UK Periodicals 2017)

It is not easy to discern from the article whether the author is extolling the virtues of *Lincrusta*\* or urging their readers to purchase copies of artistic works 'painted by Mr. Giles own artists and others' in a sponsored advertisement. They claim that *Lincrusta*\*, was being used as a professional artist's 'ground'; its 'smooth, grained [and] corded' surfaces that 'is a most agreeable surface to paint on...[and] ...is far more effective on this material then on any other ground'. The finished object was then advertised within a numbered, descriptive catalogue and



sent 'any distance' by parcel post. The article then proceeds to inform the reader that once purchased these 'panels, screens, friezes, &c.... [could then] be hired and changed as often as desired for the very small yearly subscription of a guinea.' It notes additionally that, although the designs of Giles and his studio 'are not on the original... [they are] very effective, [and] well worth copying from an artistic point of view'.

Between March 1886 and March 1887, we again find *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* advocate the use of *Lincrusta*\*. In a series of twelve, full-page articles dedicated to 'Artistic Occupation', three of the articles are devoted to the decoration of *Lincrusta*\*. The first entitled *Artistic Occupations – 3. Lustre Painting* published on 1st May 1886 (19th Century UK Periodicals, 2016), discusses the hobby of 'Lustre painting or painting with prismatic colours'; whereby, a suspension of ground metals in oil is applied with a brush to velvets and other raised fibre materials which, they stress, requires both significant skill and the ability to overcome the 'insurmountable objections' to the strong smell and mess generated. After significant criticism of the lack of skill illustrated in the craft, the article goes on to advocate that 'Unquestionably... the best ground for lustre painting is *Lincrusta-Walton*'. It suggests that panels are painted in one or multiple coloured oils before, being coated in prismatic colour to create the effect the artist was looking for, after which the panels are then applied to 'screens...walls, dadoes, [and] friezes etc.'. Additionally, they also suggest that other creations can include:

'panels of leather-coloured Lincrusta-Walton, decorated with gold only, [which] have all the appearance of stamped, gilded leather, at a very much lower price',

and point out that various designs were suitable 'with those of a geometrical or conventional character... very much to be preferred to natural designs of flowers'.

The second article, entitled *Artistic Occupations - 7. Lincrusta-Walton*, is entirely dedicated to *Lincrusta\** and published in the September of 1886. The article discusses the merits of *Lincrusta\** as being 'admirably suited for artistic treatment' and again informs us that at this time, *Lincrusta\** was made in 4 colours, Buff, green-drab, red and dark brown refraining from suggesting 'Oak' as a colour, as mentioned earlier. Again, we find reference to the plain and embossed surfaces with other varieties available in addition to a ribbed, crêpe or 'sand grain and Morocco grounds [that] answer well for friezes'; the dark brown is described as 'an excellent imitation of carved oak' which, when varnished, resembled polished wood.

The last article dated 1<sup>st</sup> October 1886 *Artistic Occupations - 8. Lincrusta-Walton (continued)*, (19th Century UK periodicals), reads more like an advertisement on the entire *Lincrusta\** catalogue. The writer expounds and venerates the decorative ideas to which the material, in all its forms, could be applied in the 'decoration of the house' informing their reader that 'this by no means completes the list of uses of this valuable decorative substance' stressing that *Lincrusta\** as a material was:

'particularly well adapted for the dadoes of rooms and staircases, being so strong and durable that only wilful damage can do it any injury'

It was suggested that as *Lincrusta\** was 'a non-conductor... [and] waterproof', the material would be a valuable wall-covering for cold rooms, and damp walls, 'or for the walls of rooms only occasionally used'. It further recommended that *Lincrusta\** be utilised for its 'practical qualities which are of equal, if not greater, importance' when utilised in 'sick rooms' and used to create the 'screens in hospitals and infirmaries, where its durability is also a great advantage'.

The article continues to expand on the virtues of *Lincrusta\** when utilised to decorate walls within the home and also the decoration of ceilings by which

*Lincrusta*\* will save the homeowner 'from the many failings to which ceilings are subject'. It asserts that 'cracking' of the ceiling is impossible and that the appeal of 'special designs' for ceilings in its original purity of colour, enabled lower maintenance costs, little cleaning and therefore less upheaval from the necessity of the services of the 'whitewasher', as well as decorative options which they suggest are limited to either plain colours or simple adornment of the relief with a 'little gold leaf'.

These early articles illustrate both the *Do-it-yourself* attitude to home improvement and the arts and crafts-based leisure activities undertaken within the home during this period. Edwards (2006, 12) informs us that this work was often undertaken to improve the family home, create a sense of individuality and to occupy spare leisure time. Additionally, Edwards tells us that at this time woman specifically, may well have taken up these arts and crafts as a way of self-expression, promotion of individuality and productivity, although would also have been undertaken in order to 'reflect their households status'.

Whilst researching *Lincrusta*\* applications, two interesting articles again named 'Fashion in Furniture' were found. This time, the articles were found in *Le Follet - Journal du Grand Monde Fashion, Society, Beaux Arts, &c.* (1888, 156). The first of which discusses the artistic merit of *Lincrusta*\* when affixed to furniture. They write in glowing terms:

'Of all the modern inventions for decorative purposes, surely Lincrusta-Walton must be universally acknowledged to be facile princeps' [acknowledged leader].

Again, we hear mention of the 'celebrated decorator' Mr Godfrey Giles, when the writer visits his headquarters in Old Cavendish Street. It is here that *Lincrusta*\* reveals its 'wonderful capabilities' and where Giles displays 'beautiful cabinets, Wedgewood panels, doors, fireplaces, overdoors and overmantles', all of which

are facsimiles created from 'plain wooded casings', even 'drain pipes' and 'wooden boards', that are then decorated using *Lincrusta*\* mouldings and fixings to replicate elaborately carved 'oak and other woods' before each is decorated:

'in any style or degree of relief and... with any colours... supplied at moderate cost and of such perfect imitation as to deceive the most critical connoisseur... and easily transferred from one residence to another, instead of being regrettably left behind for the benefit of one's landlord'. (19th Century UK periodicals, 1888, 156).

Beginners were encouraged to undertake simple decorative tasks, with door panels advocated at a cost of a:

'very trifling ...5s. per door... [with] a good pattern [for] this kind of work... [being] marked in the catalogue of the Company No. 167 and consisting of small square medallions with alternated designs'.

The design was not illustrated and not in the Blue 1880 catalogue but was found in the 1998 Red catalogue. (Figure 40).



Figure 40 – *Lincrusta-Walton* design No. 167 discussed as a 'good pattern' for a simple decorative task for a door panel in 1888



This allows for a suggestion of date of the design to between 1880 - 1898. The design is also illustrated in colour within the *Paper Hangings and Decorators* catalogue of 1899. (See Figure 36 - design 1).

Through these early articles we see the versatility of *Lincrusta*\*, which is offered to the consumer with the great potential to create 'art'. Illustrated as a diverse, modern material that could take on the artist's palette, the gilder's medium or the individuality of the designer. Both the plain and embossed surfaces offering up the potential to create unique works in painting, designing and crafting, dependant only upon the skill and creativity of its interpreter.

We have very few surviving examples. Discussion and illustration of these creations have not, as yet, been found, although these publications do appear to suggest some success in inspiring readers to use *Lincrusta*\* as a medium for art and furniture. However, this may have been a short-lived artistic fad as by 1886 we begin to find the articles on *Lincrusta*\* focus less on its unique character as a novelty artist material and more upon its solid, dependable and extremely adaptable application to walls and ceilings, economically replicating building and decorating materials such as wood, artist canvas and leather.

**N.B.** Figure 40, *Lincrusta*-Walton design No. 167 is found in the Red 1898 catalogue however, it must be noted that the example illustrated within the aforementioned 1899 catalogue from the *Paperhangings and Decorators* catalogue lists the design as No. 24001. Additional information and images from the catalogue were not fully collected and assessed as they included a variety of different wallpapers not relevant to this study. It is therefore suggested that the discrepancy in design number arises through the *Paperhangings and Decorators* use of their own inventory numbers as reference.

The last article within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, dated October 1886 Artistic Occupations - 8. *Lincrusta-Walton* (continued). (19th Century UK periodicals), make reference to the 'curious... plaques and panels' *Lincrusta\** produced in high relief to replicate beaten metal, which had the cold metallic feeling of bronze, silver, etc. and which were 'very difficult to distinguish... from similar subjects in metal'. We are informed that the metallic appearance was achieved through electrotyping and various sizes, in oval, oblong, circular and square were produced. The plaques and panels featured full figures, heads of men and women, birds and animals. No individual catalogue of designs for this process has to date been found by the author, although designs may have been similar to those from the original catalogues.

Reference to 'the smallest design' of a Lions head, measuring '7 inches by 7 inches' was not found in the Blue 1880 catalogue. However, a lion's head, No. 48 depicted on page 69 of the Red 1898 catalogue, sized at 9 inches x 9 inches has a large empty border around it and a low catalogue number, which may suggest it could be similar to the original design. The article informs us that the small 7-inch Lion head was priced at 5s in plain material and 7s in bronze. By the time of the Red 1898 catalogues issue the 9-inch lion head had seen a steep drop in price to only 1s 6d, albeit unadorned. This would suggest that further reference may imply that the earlier Lion plaque was made in a higher relief.

We also find comment on the 'excellent... carved wood designs for dadoes and wainscots', in addition to which they endorse the 'flat work [as] even better... [with] all the appearance and hardness of inlays in plain, broadly designed patterns. New uses are constantly being found for *Lincrusta-Walton*' where the material is applied to 'the decoration of the fronts of pianos' with purpose made 'pierced' designs usually found constructed from wood.

Although no reference to these perforations has as yet been located, panelled furniture can be exemplified by the Smokers Cabinet seen below in Figure 41.



Figure 41 - A hardwood smokers cabinet with *Lincrusta*\* design No. 467, page 76 of the Red 1898 catalogue, sized 12" x 6" and priced at 6d. (saleroom.com auction catalogue 2017)

The article in within *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* goes on to suggest 'finger plates for doors... [that] ...deserve a special mention' as they could be utilised as 'small panels... lids of love and knitting boxes'. The sets of mats, either plain or decorated utilised for:

'... the dinner or toilet table, and made in plain colours or in gold or silver, with embossed patterns very slightly raised, and pierced or otherwise decorated... They are cheap [and] made in the natural colours at 8d, 1s, and 1s, 6d. per pair; decorated, the prices range from 2s. to 7s. 6d. per pair... or sold by the dozen in assorted sizes at from £s. to 21s. per dozen'.

Full pricing particulars are advertised as available from the Head Offices and Works at Sunbury on Thames, or from the London show rooms at 9 Berners Street, Oxford Street.

Additionally, we learn that:

‘Sets of patterns in photo-lithographic are also sent on application, and small quantities of Lincrusta-Walton, plain, ribbed, or crêpe, which is much used for painting on, are sold by the yard’.

The crêpe at 24 inches wide costs 1s. 6d. per linear yard; fillings at 18 1/2 inches wide, in green and buff costing from 2s per lineal yard; Friezes were available at 1s a yard and borders priced from 2d. per yard.

We also read that ‘the greatest pains’ were taken to exclude from *Lincrusta*\* all designs of a:

‘trivial, weak, or vulgar character, with such success that even the simplest patterns of fillings or borders are in good taste, while many of the more elaborate specimens are correct reproductions of designs in various styles. Early English, Gothic, Japanese, Adams, Renaissance, Venetian, Persian Faience, etc., etc., too many to be enumerative’.

Furthermore, we find additional reference for the use of *Lincrusta*\* in the decoration of ‘afternoon tea table tops... the shelves of what-nots and Étagères’, as well as for ‘folding screens... music-stand panels... blotting cases’, and for ‘screens of all shapes and sizes’ with decoration being given ‘a metallic appearance’ dependent upon the varying desires of the customer to include, silver and gold gilding. This was done by covering the whole surface with gold leaf and laying over this a wash of colour, which was partially rubbed off with a soft cloth. They advise that a ‘plain’ surface is required, but embossed *Lincrusta*\* can also be painted in additional metallic effects to include the previously mentioned Gold and Silver as well as bronze and leather.

Subjects included the aforementioned birds and flowers with mention of the inclusion of insects:

‘Some of the friezes and borders are stamped with insects and birds, and these when painted and varnished have a peculiar metallic lustre’.

When commencing this study, the author, when in contact with American *Lincrusta*\* enthusiast Bo Sullivan, was kindly forwarded an image of a fireplace from a shop in Portland, Oregon. There was no information on the fireplace, moulding although it had been identified as *Lincrusta*\*. (See Figure 42).



Figure 42 – A fireplace installed in a fabric shop in Portland, Oregon (Image supplied with grateful thanks to Bo Sullivan)

Research highlighted the design within the blue 1880 catalogue as Frieze Design No. 137. Further details taken from the Red catalogue, page 34, supplied the details of the design as 6 ½ inches wide and made in lengths of 12 yards to the piece at 9d per yard in 1898 (Figure 43).



Figure 43 – Frieze Design No. 137 in the Red 1898 catalogue, page 34



An additional article from *Carpentry & Building*, a monthly journal, printed in New York and published in February 1883 supplied an illustration of design (Figure 44), and gave a clearer understanding of date within the article, discussing *Lincrusta*\* as newly introduced from England. It stated that it had been thoroughly tested in 'England and on the continent where it has met all the requirements of a perfect wall covering'. The article further informs the reader that the material is controlled in this country (United States of America) by *The Lincrusta-Walton Manufacturing Company* from their office at 41 Union Square, New York':

'Samples and sheets illustrating the various designs thus far... for the use of architects and decorators... [would be] sent to any address upon application'.



Figure 44 – Illustration from the Blue catalogue of the newly introduced *Lincrusta-Walton*, illustrated in the American publication *Carpentry and Building* - February 1883 (Hathi Trust Digital Library 2017)

### 4.3 *Lincrusta*\* in America

It is this reference that introduces the story of *Lincrusta*\* in America. In February 1882, an article written by Margaret Bertha Wright, in *The Art Amateur*, a nineteenth-century magazine published in New York, announces the creation of a 'STOCK company being formed in the city for the purpose of acquiring and developing' the manufacturing of *Lincrusta*\* for distribution in America and Canada. Mr Louis le Prince, from England, was to 'represent the manufacturers in New York' and where:

'As a preliminary to this undertaking he has fitted up some rooms in Union square with great taste, employing the Lincrusta-Walton in many ways for the decoration'. (The Art Amateur, 1882).

An additional article published in the *California Advertiser* on 18th February 1882 gives greater detail of prominent New York businessmen who make up the board of Directors (Figure 45) (MyHeritage.com, 2016).

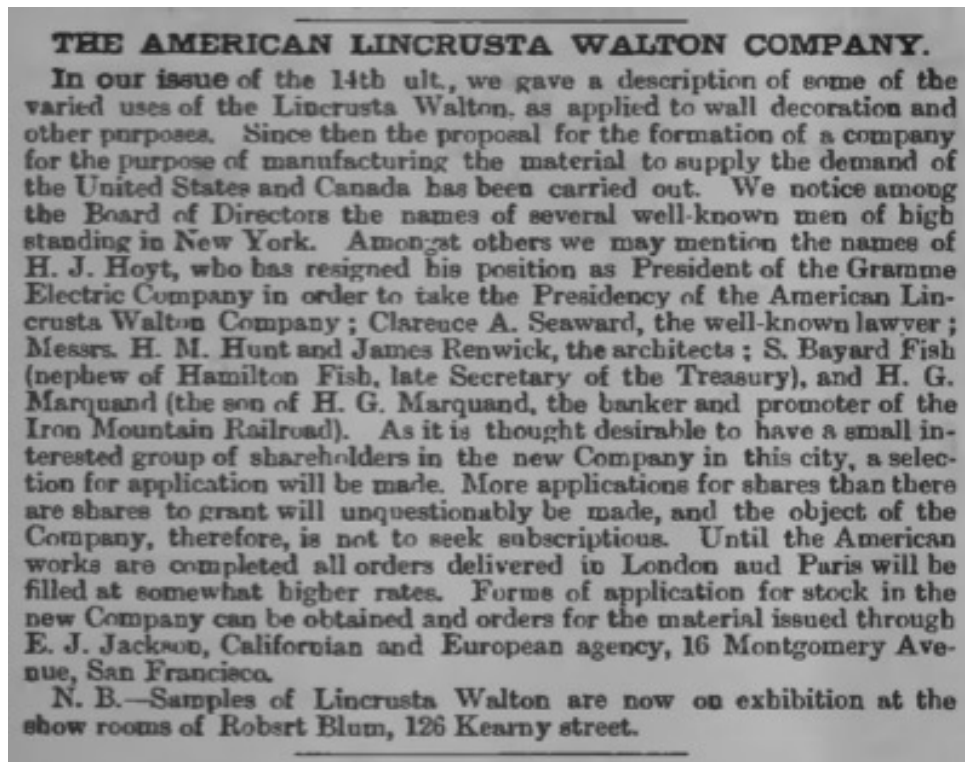


Figure 45 – *California Advertiser* 18<sup>th</sup> February 1882 on the proposal for the formation of a company for the purpose of manufacturing *Lincrusta-Walton* in the United States (My Heritage.com, 2016)

Returning to *The Art Amateur* of February 1882 we find Wright publicising *Lincrusta*\* to the American market as cheaper than Flock and other relief papers with the previously discussed advantages of taking the material down and transferring it to another room.

We find the source of this claim published on page 7 of a *Lincrusta*\* publicity pamphlet dated to 1885 by Archive.org. (Figure 46, 47 & 48). This strange claim may perhaps be explained by an earlier reference within the *1878 Paris Exhibition Catalogue*, published within *The Art Journal* in January 1878, whereby adherence to the wall is described thus: ‘...muralis may be fixed to the wall with a few tacks and removed without trouble’ (*The Art Journal*, 1878, 204) and although reference is sparse, can still be found as late as February 1899 (51 - 52) edition of *The Journal of Decorative Art*.

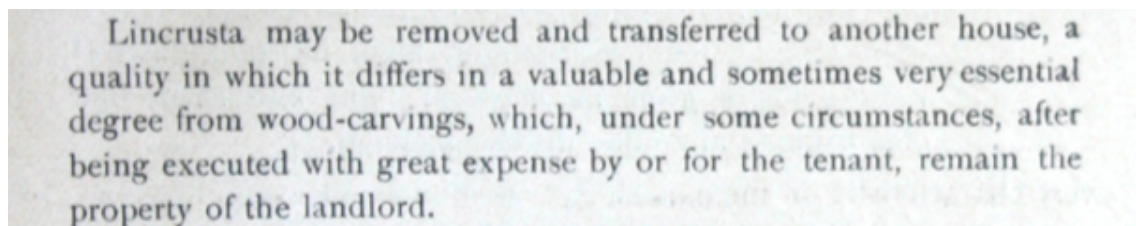
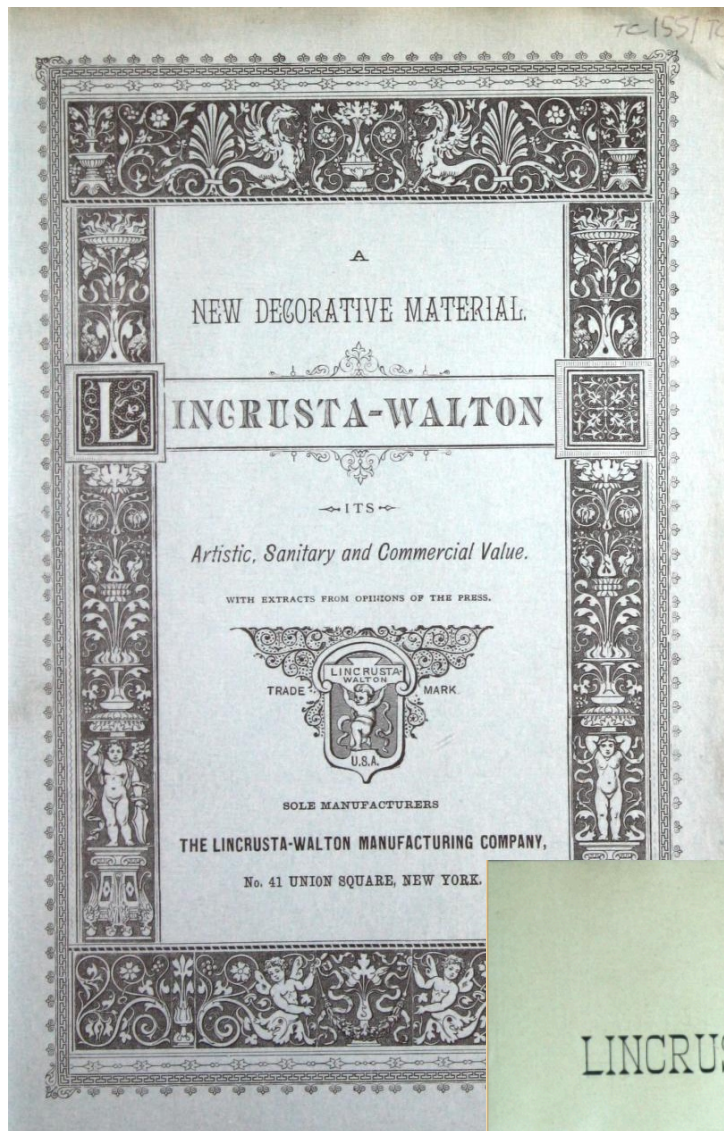


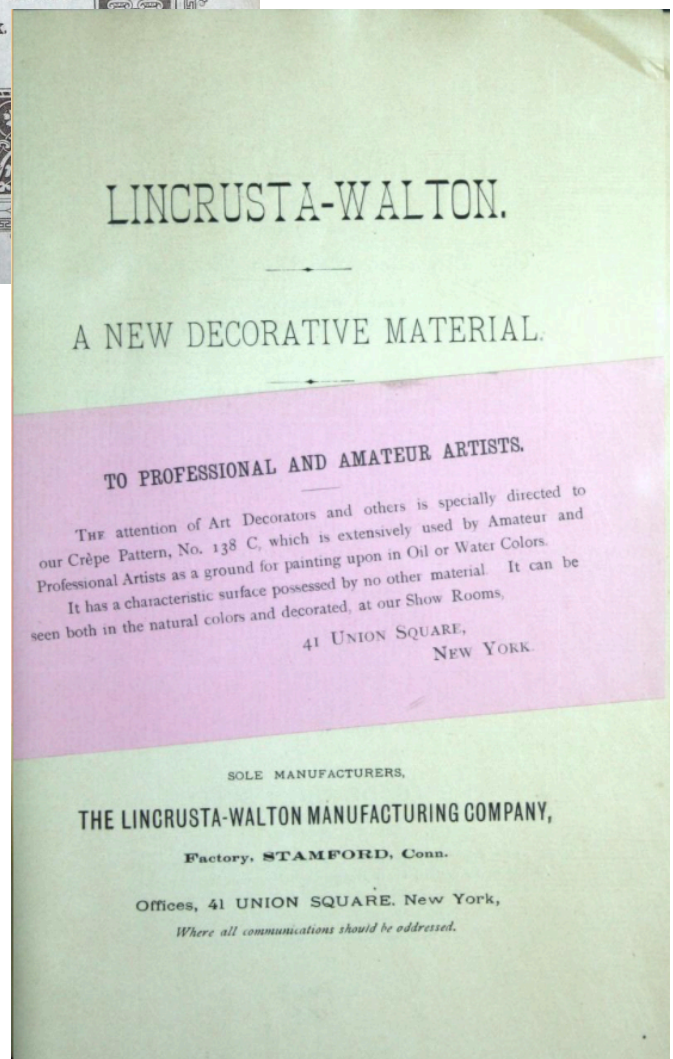
Figure 46 – Reference to *Lincrusta*\* which ‘may be removed and transferred to another house’.

The fixing of *Lincrusta*\* to the wall by way of tacks would have allowed movement of the material from one room to another by the removal of the fixing tacks. It is suggested by the author that the early fixing suggestion was omitted deliberately as additional mention is also found in other reference material for the late 1870’s and in some early reference material for the USA in the early 1880’s.





Figures 47 & 48 – Pages from a Lincrusta-Walton Manufacturing Company pamphlet. *A New Decorative Material: Its Artistic, Sanitary and Commercial Value, with Extracts from Opinions of the Press.* (Archive.org 2016)



Also, within this publication is a detailed description of *Lincrusta*\* applications to the American market, to include book binding and wall advertising placards in addition to the confirmation of manufacture in France (See Section 2.3) preceding that of the United States.

‘There are only two manufacturers of this material, one in England and one in France’ (Lincrusta-Walton, 1885, 7).

*The Lincrusta-Walton Manufacturing Company* began trading in the USA in 1883, after building a large manufacturing plant at 700 Lower Canal Street in Stamford, Connecticut (Figure 49). Frederick Beck, manager of the Stamford business, purchased the company in around 1890 and renamed the company *Fr. Beck and Co.* (Mecca, 1984).



Figure 49 – The Lincrusta-Walton Building, 700 Lower Canal Street Stamford, Connecticut built in 1883.



An 1894 black catalogue of *Fr. Beck and Co. Lincrusta-Walton* designs is widely available online through [www.Archive.org](http://www.Archive.org). and comparison of designs within the early *Lincrusta\** Blue 1880 catalogue highlighted an identical design.

Figure 50 illustrates the earliest design which was found within the Blue *Lincrusta\** catalogue (1880). The design, No. 120 (1) is identical to design No. 39 *Fluting*, within the 1894 *Fr. Beck & Co.* catalogue (3), however comparison with the Red 1898 catalogue did not reveal the design. Further research highlighted the same design No. 120 within a green *Lincrusta\** catalogue from post 1906 (2). Therefore, it is most likely that pages and illustrations removed from the Red 1898 catalogue included the design

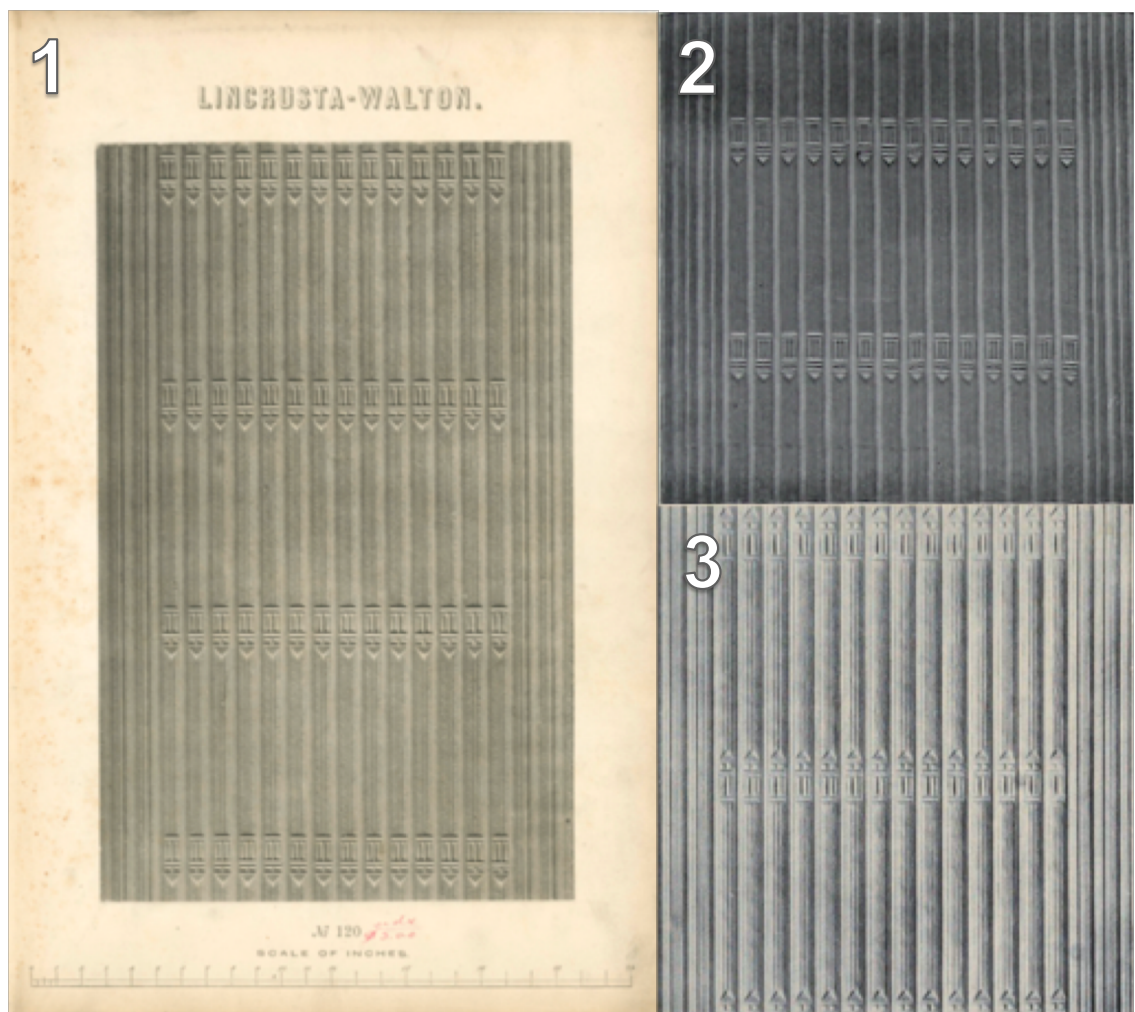


Figure 50 – Design No. 120 (1) Blue Lincrusta catalogue 1880 (Penn State University Libraries 2017). Design No 120 (2) from the Green catalogue of designs in *Lincrusta\** post 1906. Design No. 139 (3) from *Fr. Beck & Co.* catalogue 1894 ([Archive.org](http://Archive.org))

**N.B.** The design within the Black *Fr. Beck and Co.* 1894 catalogue illustrates the design reversed.

The discovery of these correlations confirms shared designs did exist between the two companies. This was due either because *Fr. Beck & Co.* purchased these original designs from *The Lincrusta-Walton Manufacturing Company* or possibly, though less likely, through third parties or a later purchase from Lincrusta\*. This also suggests an area of further research to isolate and illuminate further designs from a shared portfolio and to conclusively determine whether these designs predate that of the sale. This would further support the understanding of the early design portfolio before 1883.

In addition, this research has also confirmed that the Blue 1880 catalogue, although found in an American institution, is particularly significant because it is the earliest example of an original *Lincrusta\** catalogue identified by the author during this research, and which was entirely unknown to the company LINCRUSTA®. It was most likely printed in the United Kingdom and either sent to, as yet, unknown agents in the early 1880's or less likely, distributed as part of the early formation of Lincrusta\* in New York in early 1882. This information, together with the associated catalogues and other significant sources of information available, including advertisements and reviews highlights significant scope for additional study not addressed fully within the bounds of this research.

## 4.6 Conclusion

This thesis discusses a foundational understanding of *Lincrusta*\* and the history that surrounds its first decade of manufacture by illuminating the story of its inventor, the company's distribution and marketing strategies, initial design portfolio and contemporary use.

This study utilises original nineteenth-century catalogues coupled with advertisements and contemporary literature that were considered relevant for the period and scope of this study, and which contributed to further our understanding of the material during its first ten years.

Although beyond the date range under scrutiny, the Red 1898 *Lincrusta*\* catalogue, coupled with the Blue 1880 *Lincrusta*\* catalogue revealed vital indicators of design, manufacture, marketing and promotion through the illustrations, product descriptions and sales information which were pivotal in highlighting missing information on early designs, product dimensions and costings.

Early publicity enthusiastically endorsed the new material and we find frequent reference to the application of *Lincrusta*\* on many surfaces, not restricted simply to the wall of a home or building. Analysis of the patterns within the context of the advertisements has established that *Lincrusta*\* followed the advertising and wholesale marketing example set by *Linoleum* with the utilisation of newspapers with a middle-class readership suggesting that market focus was primarily aimed at middle-class income groups. However, there is a suggestion in the price disparity that lower income groups may have also been targeted with cheaper designs, although this suggestion requires further research to establish this conclusively, as it is also proposed that designs may also have been calculated on the weight of the raw material utilised within each design.

Additional material sourced online from newspaper archives, libraries and museum collections, proved to contain a large, untapped resource of publicity from pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers and journals. These further established customer awareness and interaction which enabled a far greater understanding of *Lincrusta*\* than may have been available had the archive at LINCRUSTA® survived as the primary source of information.

The value of this thesis lies in the range of resources that help fill the gap in our understanding of how *Lincrusta*\* was invented, produced, distributed and consumed and how Frederick Walton responded to a market opportunity through product innovation and international markets.

The relationships between Frederick Walton and his companies and manufacturing processes are complex and crucial to our understanding of *Lincrusta*\* during the nineteenth century. There are indications that illustrate his intent and external inspiration when he speaks of his desire to seek paternal praise by building upon his father's original inventions with rubber.

Further value within this thesis is the isolation and establishment of the earliest recorded *Lincrusta*\* Blue 1880 catalogue that positively identifies the early designs of the company. From this catalogue, we learn that the design portfolio of 1880 consisted of only forty pages, with limited explanation of the new products or of its ingredients and suitability as a wall and ceiling covering, table decoration and moulding, which was most likely included within a missing supplement.

The identification of a sequential numbering identification system used within the 1880 Blue *Lincrusta*\* catalogue facilitated the process of identifying the early *Lincrusta*\* designs. Further systematic review of the Red 1898 catalogue and the additional 20th century catalogues held at LINCRUSTA® will enable the review, assessment and accessioning of additional information based on this new

understanding of the core design portfolio.

My research has revealed that the topic of relief wall coverings, as a whole, has not been extensively researched within the study of wallpapers. Academic scholarship highlighting the historical significance of any mass-produced wallcovering or wallpaper from the perspective of manufacture, marketing and inventor is not often undertaken. Indeed, this study is the first to entirely focus on Lincrusta\* and no further academic investigation on any other mass-produced, raised relief wall covering has been found to date.

Within this thesis I have established conclusively that literature discussing the subject of *Lincrusta\** is very limited and frequently incorrect, passed from one publication to another as authors assume that information regarding *Lincrusta\** has been accurately researched and established by others. I have addressed some of this misinformation and presented a substantial list of additional avenues for further research within Appendix 1 of the thesis that will correct any remaining questions, although it is not an exhaustive list.

The biggest resource for further study is in the acres of *Lincrusta\** that survives in our national buildings. The biggest challenge is finding, sampling and documenting the examples which may later be expanded upon to build further academic reference. Exemplars found online, in publications or in-situ, provide a significant resource for the identification and reference of Lincrusta\* designs, manufacturing statistics and price guides. This untapped resource may also offer additional information on designers, ownership, installation locations, restoration and other relevant information, including contemporary advertising and literary reference as well as manufacturing and dates when the designs were discontinued.

*Lincrusta*\* may well fall within a number of other research disciplines. *Linoleum* floorcloth shares a commonality of production, material and inventor. In addition, *Lincrusta*'s\* replication of decorative ceiling decoration in the raised relief of plaster mouldings and strapwork would merit academic study, while an in-depth analysis of *Lincrustas*'\* place in Victorian material science and architectural and interior design may equally bear academic scrutiny.

It is surprising to find that *Lincrusta*\* has failed to find a voice within any of the above academic fields. Although wallpaper research and publication has certainly increased over the past three or four decades it has, in most cases, been solely from the perspective of paper wallcoverings or similarly, decorative plaster wall and ceiling restoration and conservation. No academic reference was found of the retrieval and cataloguing of *Lincrusta*\* under threat from building works or demolition despite its unique status of material and historic survival. No collections were found that actively specialise in its cataloguing, although there appears to be a number of academic papers and articles that chronicle its conservation, most notably the previously mentioned *Triumph of Religion Murals* at the Boston Library, Massachusetts, USA (Chang, 2004), and *The Interior Decoration of the Japanese Tower at the Royal Castle Domain in Laeken* (Verdonck & Deceuninck, 2012).

It may very well be that *Lincrusta*\* is frequently confused with or categorized with other raised relief materials such as *Anaglypta* and other paper/wood-based wallcoverings. Public awareness of the significant differences in composition is not often evident, although *Lincrusta*\* is frequently discussed on public forums and enthusiasm for the material certainly inspires passion and a thirst for additional information on its history and restoration.



*Lincrusta*\* is regularly found on walls in excellent condition, having endured far beyond the expected lifespan of many other household furnishings. Such coverings as wallpaper, paint effects, textiles or other furnishings have been destroyed or damaged where *Lincrusta*\* has survived in situ for over a hundred years or more despite the neglect of cold, damp or repeated blows.

It is the ability of *Lincrusta*\* to adapt to changing tastes and varying budgets and styles which has provided valuable understanding of the interior design and decorating trends of the late nineteenth century which saw substantial technological advancement in the production of paper and wallpaper.

However, most mass-produced, machine-printed wallpapers have been lost through changing taste and fashion or through decay and pollution. We are no longer able to observe or study the vast majority of these wallpapers as they no longer survive.

Robert Friedel (Lubar and Kingery, 1993, 42) suggests that our understanding of history begins with the materials that go into our objects and, that it is only when we consider these materials:

'that we can begin to appreciate the real history of... the material ...itself' [which] conveys messages, metaphorical and otherwise, about the objects and their place in a culture'.

This thesis recognises that without further scholarship to fully assess and catalogue this valuable resource the History of *Lincrusta*\* and therefore English Wallpaper is incomplete.

*Lincrusta*\* is able to illustrate Victorian innovation and development of mass-production within the decorative wall-coverings market by offering a unique perspective of nineteenth-century interior decoration simply because it does survive, and in significant numbers and locations. *Lincrusta*\* is distinctive, resilient and adaptable, easily recognisable from other wall-coverings by the

simple application of pressure. *Lincrusta*\* does not yield to wallpaper - nor should it have to. *Lincrusta*\* is unique.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1

Additional research areas beyond the focus of this thesis may also include:

- The British Library & Patent Office which holds a microfiche copy of a pamphlet or catalogue held at the national Library of Congress and dated to 1880. Originally printed in London by Waterlow and Sons Limited, it is likely to duplicate the Blue *Lincrusta*\* catalogue sourced from The Eberly Family Special Collections Library, Penn State University Libraries, and used within this thesis. Additionally, The Patent Office holds further details of the suggested 80 plus patents personally recorded by Frederick Walton during his lifetime.
- The National Archives at Kew which were not investigated as part of this study due to the significant amount of other additional information found early in the project but do hold relevant information on the *Cowtan & Son* order books which make reference to *Lincrusta*\*. This was illustrated in a talk by Wendy Andrews entitled *Technology and Taste in English Wallpapers from 1824 to 1938: what can the Cowtan & Sons Order Books tell us?* This was at the *Working with Wallpapers: Future Directions in Wallpaper Research and Interpretation* Conference held at Wrest Park on Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> September 2016. These 24 sales books represent a significant avenue of research. The V & A Museum also holds two additional catalogues within its collection. One has a possible though unconfirmed date of 1890 and another of *Lincrusta*\* and other raised relief materials dated to 1907, both of which were not included in this research due to time restraints.
- The Spelthorne Museum at Staines, which supports an unexplored archive on *Linoleum*.

- The Lancashire Archives: Collection identified as DDWAL. This uncatalogued archive consists of 23 boxes or bundles of documents relating to several predecessor companies of CWV Wallcoverings Ltd. and appears to offer twentieth century reference to *Lincrusta*\* and *Anaglypta* amongst others. These are up to and including the years 1918 – 2003 and were not investigated as they are beyond the era of this study.
- Additional archival publications are available that will enable discussion from the perspective of Architects and builders to include *The Architect News*; *The Art at Home* series and other specialist publications.

**Additional suggested avenues of exploration include:**

- A study of the industrial revolution within the framework of advances in material availability through technological and manufacturing innovation that enabled the invention of *Lincrusta*\*.
- The English Export market - The vogue for English wallpapers abroad in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been well established, particularly in the case of France and America. However, the trade with the rest of Europe is less well documented. LINCRUSTA® suggest *Lincrusta*\* can be found in excess of fifty countries and production companies were established in France, America, Italy and Germany. Did commercial interests stretch to other countries, such as Russia, Northern Europe, Canada, South America, Africa, Australasia, the Far East and Asia - Is there any record of this?
- Walton mentions a partner that 'travelled all over England' (1925, 32) actively selling on behalf of *Linoleum*. Employed 'travellers' were commonplace during this era, equipped with pattern books and samples. Was this the case with *Lincrusta*\*?
- The promotion and encouragement of sales by the wholesalers and

retailers. Goods were not instantly accepted by customers. The introduction of new designs 'Oak Mouldings' and 'Lincrusta Silks' during 1884 - 1885 initially failed (Sugden & Edmondson, 1926, 252). Sales of such a new wall covering may well have employed in-house promotion material much as today. Are there any examples or promotions recorded that could further build on our understanding? Did *in-house* promotions follow specific frameworks and what, if any comparisons can be made to other manufacturers?

- The London show rooms of Lincrusta\* were first located at 9 Berners Street before moving to 1 Newman Street. The location of Sanderson wallpapers (who also manufactured in Chiswick as did *Linoleum*) was at 52 Berners Street from 1865, which suggests there may be a link with other wall covering manufacturers within a business 'cluster' location with other manufacturers, provides an additional area of research.
- Research may also isolate design similarities that further illuminate the work of designers employed by Frederick Walton to give his new material the best possible chance of success. Cross-reference of the designs and known designers of raised relief wall coverings that came under the WPM during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most notably that of Anaglypta with similar/same Lincrusta\* designs, may highlight similarities that illuminate free-lance designers working with Lincrusta\*.
- Additional study may look to explore the perspective of domestic chores and how Lincrusta\* would have impacted on the household division of space.

**20<sup>th</sup> century areas of research include:**

- Reference to the use of Lincrusta\* within six state bedrooms aboard the RMS Titanic, The White House, Washington DC, The *Triumph of Religion Murals* at The Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts and other major

buildings and structures both nationally and internationally, including the New York Subway network, trains, ships, hospitals and ecclesiastical and public buildings.

- Manufacturers in Germany, Italy and France as well as the United States with its huge market and significant photographic reference held within the Library of Congress and other institutions that illustrate both material and owner, as well as distribution to countries as far afield as Canada and Australia.



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